JOHAN LEMAN

FROM CHALLENGING CULTURE TO CHALLENGED CULTURE

THE SICILIAN CULTURAL CODE AND THE SOCIO-CULTURAL PRAXIS OF SICILIAN IMMIGRANTS IN BELGIUM

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The Sicilian Cultural Code and the Socio-Cultural Praxis of Sicilian Immigrants in Belgium

JOHAN LEMAN

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The familiarity that is not acquired in books with the mode of practical existence of those who do not have the liberty to place the world at a distance can thus be, in principle, a keener awareness both of the distance and of a real proximity, a kind of solidarity beyond cultural differences.

Translated from Pierre Bourdieu, *Le Sens Pratique,* Paris, Ed. de Minuit, 1980, p. 30

[Sicilians] will always hate those who want to wake them out of that sleep... some, once removed far from their island, can succeed in breaking this spell, but then you have to take them away when they are very young, by the age of twenty it is already too late.

Translated from Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa, *Il Gattopardo,* Milan, Feltrinelli, [29]1974, p. 121-123.

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Preface

We were able to spend over a year in Sicily in the Province of Caltanissetta and then devote several years to field work among Sicilian immigrants from the same Province in urban Brussels and in semi-rural Genk in Belgium. We were also able to spend a short time in the Sicilian colony in Casablanca, Morocco, of which we had learned from their relatives in Brussels.

These years of field work and the time thereafter, during which a number of ideas matured, have led to the story that we present here. The first part discusses the Province of Caltanissetta; the second deals with the immigration explicitly from an anthropological point of view with specific attention being given to the Sicilian emigration from the Province of Caltanissetta to Belgium. The discussion is extended to cover more than merely its Sicilian or Belgian manifestations, however. One of the important questions involved is what the Sicilian immigration teaches us anthropologically about immigration in general.

Throughout the book appears the theme of more fundamental questions. Is there in Sicily a prereflexive form for the socio-cultural praxis? Which are the most common processes in immigration, the culture-eroding or the culture-creating processes? How "objective" are the cultural changes? Is cultural change a univocal or a multifaceted event? What is the relation between the admission of belonging ethnically to a certain group and being attached to a certain common objective culture? What is the relation between the first, second, third, and further generations, and how do these generations each relate to the country of origin and to the host country?

In the text, the names of the persons have been changed but not the names of the places. We saw no reason to do so, and it may even be useful for others to be able to test our findings and perhaps note and attempt to understand changes. Actually a number of striking socio-cultural changes do occur in Sicilian urban life.

As regards foreign words, the Sicilian and not the Italian vocabulary and spelling are used as much as possible but not everywhere. This seemed reasonable, since most of the people spoke to us in Italianized Sicilian vernicular, and our notes were compiled in it. Readability would have been hampered if we had used one or another typographic form to distinguish between Italian and Sicilian words, though we admit that this use of Italianized Sicilian oral and written forms is open to criticism. For Italian speakers, we would like to point out that Sicilian generally replaces the -e with an -i at the end of a word in the singular. Thus, *paisi* (the Italian *paese*) in Sicilian is singular and not plural.

We would like to thank Prof. Dr. Eugeen Roosens, who made many valuable comments on the text. Particular thanks are owed to the many people who were so helpful in Sicily, in the Sicilian immigration, and in the immigration in general, including Moroccan and Turkish immigrants. We do not name them here, for the list would have to be long, and not to name everyone would be unfair. We are very much aware that this book could never have been written without their invaluable assistance.

Introduction

A description presumes a method. We opted for a dual approach with phenomenological and spatio-structural interpretative frameworks closely associated with the phenomenological reading, the ethnographic character being given priority.

The phenomenological method fits best the method of participant observation and is supported by a great deal of epistemological and reflexive legitimation. In the words of Clifford Geertz, "we begin with our interpretations of what our informants are up to, or think they are up to, and then systematize..."[1]. The phenomenologist recognizes that his opening of himself to "the other" also immediately implies a reduction to his own world.

The phenomenological approach presumes a constitutive relationship between the anthropologist-researcher and the participants in the culture, which, of course, is expressed in a privileged manner "in conversation". The other, the subject of the original culture, is naturally invited to reflexivity through the questions of the anthropologist. But what is the status of what he communicates, assuming that he wants to open himself to the anthropologist? Is the reflexivity concealing or revealing?

Sometimes, the psychologizing rationalization is rather evident, and everyone who does field work often experiences it. With this in mind, the anthropologist attempts to construct an objectivity of the "systematization" type[2]. Objectivity also stands for consensus between the subjects. With this consensus, the phenomenologist attempts, in a later phase, to delineate an horizon of meaning that would be from the subjects and also constitute the horizon within which the explanatory meanings would be assigned their rightful places.[3]

In summary, objectivity stands for consensus between the studied subjects and for dialogue, i.e., the reflection, explicit or not, by the participants with and in the presence of the researcher, who thereby attempts to exchange his own intelligible horizon with the "alien" horizon.

The gestures and postures that often occur in the Sicilian society are also assigned the status of spoken communication in this approach. One can derive their meaning only on the basis of a communication from the subjects or from a deduction from other observed behavior. The gesture is not of another order in Sicily than the word, and it is very often a communication that is camouflaged. The field worker thereby remains within the order of discourse, although this can sometimes presume a very high degree of immersion that can only be achieved after a very long period of time.

Word and gesture, and possibly even involuntary postures, are situated in the phenomenologically describable level of the culture. What is involved is a level of culture that is, in principle, conscious, even though the signs are generally, and certainly in their interrelatedness, experienced by the subjects only prereflexively. Chapter 3 in Part I describes the Sicilian culture from this point of view.

The phenomenologist may not be naive in all of this. He knows that he

himself is not a mindless exponent of impersonal roles and structures, and he realizes, too, that, in principle, this is not the case for the subjects of his research field. Imagination is privilege not only of anthropologists, and a possible lack of imagination need not be confined to the groups studied. The researcher can thus readily appreciate that "the subjects" are not rarely capable of creative readings and interpretations of their concrete socio-cultural situations. This is the guiding notion behind all of Part II, the socio-cultural praxis in the immigration setting. The problem of ethnicity (Chapter 9) and the millenarian response to the first, difficult adaptation years (Chapter 10) are illustrations of this creativity.

But both theoretically and within the field work itself, such a phenomenological method, which takes the conversation and the conscious as paradigms, sometimes leaves the anthropologist dissatisfied. Is it not always a matter of *Erscheinungen,* of constructs the phenomenologist shares in forming? And is such discourse not project-bonded and sometimes unclear regarding the status of both word and gesture? But there is still another, more fundamental, observation. Is not the discourse about which the phenomenologist speaks too dependent on the individual facticity of the subjects whereby each individual always, as it were, speaks as a part for the whole? Even if such conversation is expanded to all the parts of the whole so that all individuals have their say, it may still be objected that the combined partial visions do not lead to an understanding of the autonomous systematic, the gestalt, the whole.

That the word, the gesture, and the posture have their limitations, however, does not mean that one may disregard them. But it does mean that there is place in the extension of the phenomenological method, cognitively speaking, for post-phenomenological alteration. This complementary approach concerns a more distanced description whereby the attempt is made to work more with a "whole" than with the "parts". In addition to the conversation, the discourse, attention is given to a spatio-cultural gestalt that is not delineated in its multiplicity but in its comprehensibility, after which the multiplicity of the single experiences are selectively recuperated within the gestalt in a second phase.

Chapter 4 treats such a cultural gestalt, namely the Sicilian *paisi* or village. We examine the question of whether there is an ever recurring space partition in Sicilian villages that leads to an insight both into the whole and into the structure of the most important conversations and behavior. Moreover, in the discussion of the socio-cultural changes in the immigration setting (Part II), the major turning points of this schema are used repeatedly since they permit the most essential creative changes to be identified concisely.

A somewhat comparable approach is used by Marshall Sahlins when he indicates an isomorphism, based on a cultural-geographical substructure, between the social, the economic, and the cultural.[4] However, the importance Sahlins attaches to the concrete, local terrain characteristics differs sharply from what we present in Chapter 4. But arguing for the inclusion of a preconscious spatial substructure for conversation and behavior may not be confused with reduction to a formalistic schema. Geertz correctly notes that "there is little profit in extricating a concept from the defects of psychologism only to plunge it immediately into those of schematicism."[5].

In summary, after a detailed analytical phenomenological description (Chapter 3), the delineation of the cultural gestalt offers a more synthesizing vision of the Sicilian *paisi* culture (Chapter 4). We hope that the two complementary approaches, by their association in content with the real experience of the field worker and by their successive analytical and synthetic approach will lead to a rich and coherent anthropological discussion of local Sicilian culture.

The study of the Sicilian culture as it is presently manifested in the Province of Caltanissetta comprises Chapters 1 through 4 of Part I, which also present, when appropriate, the socialization strategies. Sicilian culture is presented here as a most *challenging* culture.

The most important structural and geographical factors that are relevant to our present purposes are the intradomestic and extradomestic spaces.

The purity of the family group is preserved in the domestic zone. It is a positive complex that stands for cleanliness, shelter, safety and physical as well as socio-moral and spiritual well-being. The inner world must be protected against the outer world, where other, more dangerous moral rules apply, for there are values that oppose those of the domestic space. One has to protect oneself against them by *furberia* (shrewdness), *amicizia* (friendship), and patronage.

The core of the extradomestic space and the heart of the community is the *chiazza* (the village square). There the *paisi* (the village) develops its true social life. For the women, it also develops in a smaller scale in each *quarteri* (district) in female *vicinati* (neighborhood groupings), which reflects the male-female segregation. On an ordinary day, that life is expressed on the *chiazza* in the groups of male *amici* (friends), who are together but still opposed to each other, challenging and being challenged with the norm of an ideal equality as the undertone. On feastdays, the entire *paisi* gathers without segregation, men, women, and children together, and they participate in a communal feast at which the foundations of the culture are actualized.

The *chiazza* is the space of the man; the domestic space belongs to the woman. In the *casa* (home) hangs the *Bedda Matri* (the Madonna, literally "beautiful mother"). On the *chiazza* stands the *Matrici* (the principal church). The *casa* is the place of *vrigogna* (modesty, shame), and the focus of the *onuri* (sexual honor) of the man. The *chiazza* is the locus of *rispettu* (economic prestige). The husband and wife know that they have to screen off the domestic space, so they organize it so that the woman stays in the female *vicinatu* and that the outside world does not infiltrate into it. When the woman goes out, everything is so regulated that she moves with a global, domestic integrity by means of the protective presence of her husband, of an older son, or of other women from the *vicinatu* or the *famigghia allargata* (extended family). Purity, however, is not something passive that only needs to be protected. Rather it offers protection in its turn, also for the man.

It is for the increase of his *rispettu* and for the establishment of asymmetrical relationships in his favor that the man, once his place is clearly no longer at the *casa*, moves to the *chiazza*. The patronage and client system in Sicily itself is probably the ultimate socially accepted norm for this. The attempt is made to

acquire a place within this in an honorable way. Getting employment and assuring the prosperity of the family is the objective.

When this objective cannot be achieved because of the lack of any real opportunities, the only thing left to do to acquire an honorable position is to emigrate. This is the classic connection between the Sicilian culture of origin and emigration. But it is an ambiguous enterprise, because the very act implicitly involves an undermining of the cultural objective. This is why the male migrant will for years maintain the notion that he has to make up for something in Sicily. He can do this by displaying a certain degree of prosperity while he is there on vacation, but Sicilians know that this is actually not very convincing. And certainly those who stayed behind are not taken in by it. In a sense, everybody is on to the tricks of everybody else. There is a reason for the importance attached to *furberia*. The leaving of the *paisi* is compensated for the most symbolically and convincingly by the purchase or remodeling of a house in Sicily. One rejoins the *paisi* life, having never been really away. *La casa* in the *paisi* of origin is, curiously enough but still very understandable in the culture's terms, more of a male than a female concern.

When the motivation to emigrate is more vaguely social and not solely economic, we find ourselves still within the logic of the *rispettu* but with the relationship to the *paisi* of origin being somewhat more nuanced. A great deal then depends on circumstances in the host country, such as what happens in the first years after arrival, the residential area models, and the like, more than is the case with strictly economic emigration.

Part I concludes with a diagram of the gestalt of the cultural code of the Sicilian *paisi*. Throughout these chapters, the Sicilian culture gradually emerges as a *culture of control and challenge,* and it is on the basis of this idea that Part II, *From Challenge to Change,* is developed.

In Chapters 5 through 11, which make up Part II, an attempt is made to analyze the socio-cultural changes in the immigration setting with attention to depth and nuance. We will try to understand the processes of change in themselves and "from within" as a socio-cultural praxis. It is not the reified initial condition in its comparison with the reified terminal condition that interests us, but the process of change itself within each generation and over the generations. In the words of Johannes Fabian, "a processual concept of culture should help us to avoid reification and false concretisation of 'culture'."[6] By being *challenged* the *challenging* culture produces *change*.

Part II is based on several years of fieldwork among Sicilians from the Province of Caltanissetta in several places in Belgium: urban Brussels and semi-rural Genk in the Province of Limburg. Chapters 7 and 8 discuss the first and the second generations from the point of view of their respective current praxis.

There are both push and pull factors operative in the emigration process. The primary pull factor is, of course, the structural economic needs of the host country. Among the push factors, which are always operative, the situation is somewhat more complicated. While the first emigrants of a region apparently have strictly economic motives, a psycho-social model is thereby generated in the home region in which the economic continues to be the motive, but it is

generally insufficient of itself to completely account for emigration. Less well-defined motives mingle with the economic push factor.

Once the emigration is accomplished, the first objective for the husband and the wife is the increase of *rispettu* or social promotion. The first few years are almost always difficult years of adaptation for everyone. For a number of reasons, this is an orientation period that can last for up to five years. In it, the residential reception models and the socio-moral climate they represent are extremely important for the support of the initial motivation or for influencing it in one way or another. Generally, the first residential area is a "twilight zone" or a housing estate.

Through his new job situation, the husband comes most in explicit contact with the world outside of the residential district and with non-*paisani*, people not from his village. The wife, for her part, is very soon confronted with her essential cultural task, the management of the intradomestic space. *La fimmina è la casa* (the woman is the home), and vice versa. Once the residence has been transplanted to the host country, her place as woman and mother is in the host country and no longer where she once lived, particularly once the children have grown. The extension and diversity of the intradomestic zone is simplified, however, since there is generally no female *vicinatu* and the *famigghia allargata* is not always present as a cluster.

For the first-generation parents, this leads to a double orientation, which may seem both positive and negative. The husband lives mentally primarily on his *chiazza* in Sicily — this is his challenge — even though he is probably the most "adapted" to the autochthon environment because of his job. Of course, he has contacts with a few Sicilian *amici* in the host country and has some non-Sicilian comrades, but where one lives physically and where one continues to live mentally and culturally may differ. The wife, who is less "adapted" for a long time, certainly when she does not have a job in the host country, still becomes more attached to the new home and her new life in the host country.

The double orientation of the parents, both to the home country and the host country, is transmitted to the children and is at the basis of the "second-generation problem", which is reinforced by the educational system.

Specific for the second generation is that the *chiazza*, the new challenge, is actually and symbolically located completely in the host country. The intradomestic space or private culture is kept invisible, and the extradomestic space or public culture is taken over from the host country. Two subjective migrations occur: one at a very young age and one in late adolescence, and an alternating movement between the particular immigrant culture and the host country is at the root of fragmenting creativity. A certain opposition to the first generation contributes to the importance attached to the host-country values. The specific phases of the fragmentation are presented in a diagram.

Cultural erosion continues in the third and further generations, at least in the public culture. The persistance of objective cultural traits as ethnic traits without this giving rise to active and dynamic group formation can be called ethnic category formation, within which many degrees can be discerned.

Very often, the immigrant will move to a "second-integration" zone, one or another better district if this was not done a generation earlier, i.e., while the

second generation was emerging from puberty and the parents (the first generation) decided definitively not to return to the country of origin. Obviously, too, opportunity and resources are factors in such a move. This implicitly touches the circle of education – job – residential area – education. One would assume that education is the most concrete and powerful lever to break through this circle. If this does not happen, then one may well fear for socio-ethnic stratification, certainly in times of increasing unemployment and job scarcity.

In some places, it has been observed that socio-ethnic stratification generates ethnic group formation, but this can also be caused by progressive cultural erosion. Chapter 9 explicitly treats the question of ethnicity as a specific form of collective creativity. Among the Sicilian immigrants in Brussels in the 1970s, there were the beginnings of such formation in an Sicilian group called GRIT. Because the base for it is a recent post-War immigration, it is still too soon for fullfledged "ethnic movements" to appear.

As ethnic movements represent collective creativity in the third and fourth generations, so, too, the first, difficult adaptation years in the first generation are the basis of a similar, penetrating form of collective creativity outside of the current socio-cultural praxis. Ethnic innovational creativity occurs in a situation of cultural erosion; millenarian, conservative creativity occurs primarily in a situation of cultural disorientation, even though it is embodied in an already existing model, such as the Jehovah's Witnesses. Thus, in compromise form, a number of important traditional values are secured with respect to the disorientation that is generated by the immigration and the host country. This millenarianism then takes on signal importance for the cultural tensions in the broader social context. Chapter 10 sketches a millenarian praxis in the immigration.

The diversified forms of collective praxis are dealt with separately in our study, but in reality they occur together to a large extent in the residential-district models, though in different proportions in function of the moment in the immigration history. This is particularly the case in the twilight zones and the housing estates. They form the mozaic of the typical multi-ethnic host-country district with a number of similar forms from immigrant groups of other ethnic origins and with components from a rather marginal autochthon population.

Within this context, the immigrants move as subjects: they are not passive elements, not pawns predestined by their circumstances or by one or another phase of the immigration history. If a moment of radical uprooting and desubjectivization should occur, this is apt to happen in the first few years of the immigration. After the culture of origin and the culture of the host country have initially clashed in the individual, he will gradually create his own small creative space within the larger dynamic of the culture of origin, of the immigration and of what the host country makes possible.

There is no doubt that, when the situation is approached intelligently, a great deal of positive good can emerge from this event. That the process in the immigration may not be understood as an impoverished product of the two dominant, encountering cultures is clearly demonstrated by the study.

Culturally, immigration is both synchronically and diachronically an extremely diversified and creative event. Those involved are conscious subjects,

with their passive as well as active moments, who live in a context where, of course, many less conscious elements also make themselves felt. Different forms of subjective and objective culture and also the ethnic belonging to a "we" constitute the many elements that, combined in various forms, lead to a differentness that characterizes the cultural changes.

Chapters defining the more specific cultural problem introduce each of the parts of the book. These historical and sociological introductory sketches are illustrated by representative case studies.

The last chapter, "From Challenging Culture to Cultural Change and Integration", takes up again the leading idea of the study that emerges inductively from the empirical data. On the basis of this idea, a contribution is made to the anthropological literature on the Sicilian culture in Sicily, and a new approach is proposed to what is commonly called the integration of immigrants. Some general conclusions are drawn about Mediterranean immigration in Northern Europe.

A word is in order about our use of the term "immigrant" instead of "migrant". There are, indeed, migrant workers in Europe in the usual sense of the term, that is, workers who travel seasonnaly. For example, Italian hotel workers go to Switzerland for the tourist season and return to Italy when it is finished. The industrial workers who came north from Sicily, however, came with a more extended purpose, although they did have the intention of eventually returning to Sicily. Moreover, most of those who actually do return to Sicily, do so when they retire, and the second and third generation will never return. These industrial "guest workers", therefore, fall in between true immigrants and true migrants. We have chosen to call them "immigrants", to stress the permanence and the stability of their residence in Belgium.

PART I
A CHALLENGING CULTURE

Chapter 1
Caltanissetta, Riesi, and Sutera in the Province of Caltanissetta

Sicily is an island with an area of 25,708.43 km^2. In December 1974, at the commencement of our project, the population was 4,816,000. That this number was not higher is largely to be ascribed to the fact that Sicily at this time had something more than 2 million emigrants. Although the emigration to Northern Italy accounts for part of it, there is no corner of the world that has not been reached by Sicilian emigrants.

Between 1961 and 1971 612,424 people officially left Sicily. This means that an average of 170 Sicilians emigrated every day, year in and year out. For Sicily itself between 1951 and 1971, 274 of the 382 municipalities declined in population, with the greatest decline in Acquaviva in the *Valle del Platani* in the Province of Caltanissetta, with a drop of 51.2 % and major losses in other villages of the "triangle of depression", i.e., the three Provinces of Caltanissetta (without the coastal region of Gela, which has a small petroleum industry), Agrigento, and Enna. These provinces have watched their sulfur mining disappear, and agricultural reform has been unable to stem the depopulation of the *campagna*, the rural areas between the towns. Between 1961 and 1971, 64,661 people emigrated from the Province of Caltanissetta. This gave a total population at the end of 1971 of 282,069. On 30 September 1985, the Province had 293,874 residents.

Between 1951 and 1971, just before we began our field work, the Province of Caltanissetta had a net loss of about 16,000 people from emigration, returns, births, and deaths: from 298,496 residents, the

population declined to 282,069, or - 5.5 %. Up until 1961, nevertheless, there was an increase of about 4,000 people, or + 1.3 %. From 302,513 in 1961, however, the trend was downwards: - 20,000 in ten years or - 6.75 %.

As regards the active population, the situation was even more dramatic. In 1951, the active population was 95,553 or 32 % of the total population. In 1961, it was 90,777 or 30 %, and in 1971, 71,895 or 25 %. Sectorial analysis shows that the agricultural population declined the most, namely by 66 %, from 54,207 or 56 % of the active population in 1951 to 18,313 or 25 % of the active population in 1971. Many of the *viddani* (farmers) and *braccianti* (hired farm workers) left either by emigrating directly or by emigrating after temporarily entering the construction sector, which expanded until 1961 and then contracted in its turn. In this period, industry accounted for not even 6,000 new jobs: in 1951 there were 23,683; in 1971: 29,345. There had been more in 1961: 33,289. One of the difficulties the industrial sector had to cope with was that 97.5 % of the companies were family firms or very small operations of less than 5 employees,[1] which is in harmony with the basic familial nature of Sicilian culture. For the other activities, the jobs went from 17,663 in 1951 to 20.778 in 1961 and 24,327 in 1971. But there was a negative total balance of jobs of 23,568.

Thus, the emigrants came from the agricultural sector, some after an interim stage of internal migration to the construction sector.[2]

But there is another phenomenon: the tertiarization of local employment. Commerce, services, and public administration absorbed in 1971 almost 50 % of the local active population in the provincial capital city of Caltanissetta, which is obviously a skewed situation that could not benefit the economic dynamics of the Province. If transportation and other services are added, we arrive at 59.1 % for the non-productive tertiarization of the local active population in the capital of the Province, which became the point of attraction for the youth throughout the Province, as opposed to the already rather high average of 37.2 % for the entire *Mezzogiorno*.

As mentioned already, the Province of Caltanissetta is considered part of the Sicilian "triangle of depression", for which these figures provide eloquent confirmation. It is there that we carried out our field work. We were able to spend over a year in Sicily in Caltanissetta (1975, 1976, 1977, and some later visits), in Riesi (1976, 1977), and in Sutera (1977). In 1986, we revisited Caltanissetta to gather information on the most

important developments over the last eight years.

Located in the center of Sicily, the Province of Caltanissetta has 22 municipalities. Each municipality has a dense concentration of houses surrounded by an extensive, hilly, and largely uninhabited rural area. The provincial capital is Caltanissetta.

The city of Caltanissetta (415.94 km^2, 63,027 inhabitants in 1961, 60,051 in 1971, and 61,989 on 30 September 1985) is situated around a built-up hill of about 568 m (highest point: 859 m, lowest point: 170 m). Structurally and psychologically, the city was divided in the second half of the seventies into two parts: the "emancipated" new city (*città nuova*), which is divided by a viaduct from the old city (*città vecchia*), which still manifests the characteristics of the former agricultural town.

The old city is divided into four major quarters (*quarteri*), each adjoining the *chiazza* Garibaldi, the central square. Towards the edge of the city, there are a number of more marginal and smaller sections of more recent construction. The four major quarters are named San Rocco, Santa Venera, San Francesco, and Provvidenza after their principal churches. All of the quarters are divided into neighborhoods, which, unlike the quarters, are much less precisely delimited.[3]

When we refer to a specific place in what follows, we will use the current name in common usage. Thus, they and we call the *Puzziddu,* situated in Santa Venera, a quarter even though it is actually a large neighborhood. Indeed, such names have never been officially or definitively fixed. Some older people, for example, will speak of *Saccara* instead of *Puzziddu,* which can lead to confusion among the younger people, who have been strongly "Italianized" in school. *Saccara* is confused with *Zingari* (gypsy quarter), which is actually an older name for the Provvidenza Quarter, a quarter around the Provvidenza church with very small alleyways and inhabited by a few dozen prostitutes. The fourth quarter around the *chiazza* Garibaldi next to the San Francesco Quarter is called San Rocco, and every morning by the Via Terranova is held a very busy market.

In the same way that a few larger neighborhoods can be distinguished within a quarter, in each neighborhood there are *vicinati* (areas of small groups of neighbors), specifically appropriated by the women of the neighborhood.

When we speak further of a *chiazza* in the city of Caltanissetta, then this is the *chiazza* Garibaldi of the old city. When we speak of life in a

quarter, we are referring primarily to the local life in the Puzziddu Quarter, although we are not unfamiliar with the life in the three other large quarters. By the female *vicinatu* is understood the life within a small neighborhood or in the smaller *vicinatu* setting within a larger neighborhood. This is the life world of the women, that, in a certain sense, at least in the city of Caltanissetta, can still be found more easily and more integrally in certain separate and somewhat isolated *viculi* or alleyways such as the *viculu Chiarandà*.

Our findings about the city of Caltanissetta concern largely the period of 1975-1980. In the 1980s, a number of striking changes have occurred. Many large and young families are beginning to leave the Santa Venera and San Francesco Quarters and are moving into rapidly constructed buildings, which serve as *case popolari* (social housing), situated on the periphery in the new part of the city. The San Pietro Quarter, in particular, is attracting many. The typical, older lower-class districts of the old city are being depopulated. Only the elderly continue to live there. The *vicinatu* life in the old city is disappearing to a degree without a new *vicinatu* life being formed in the buildings of the new city. Furthermore, the young people between the ages of 15 and 25, girls as well as boys, are increasingly meeting in the street in the vicinity of four bars in the *Viale della Regione*, a major street in the new city and are going even less frequently than previously to the Garibaldi *chiazza*. They are also escaping the social control of their elders, and the public sexual segregation has broken down for this age category.

The second *paisi* of the Province of Caltanissetta included in our research is Riesi. This village has an area of 66.67 km^2 and, at the end of 1971, about 16,000 residents or 240 per km^2. On 30 September 1985, it had 14,929 residents. The inhabited area is primarily around the 330 m elevation, with the highest point being 475 m and the lowest 84 m. Riesi is located south of Caltanissetta an hour's journey by public transportation along the winding roads. Riesi is a large village that used to be supported primarily by agriculture and sulfur mining, but the large Trabia Tallarita mine has been closed for some time. Together with Sommatino and Mazzarino, two other villages in the immediate vicinity, Riesi belongs to a zone in which the residents sometimes go to each others' town on special occasions such as the feast of the village patron, which would be in Riesi the second Sunday of September, the feast of the *Madonna della Catena*. In this agriculture-sulfur mining area, the villages show certain affinities. It is also a zone thas was controlled in

the past by the rural mafia of the older type, and this still prevails to some extent. Certain figures from this local mafia, such as Giuseppe Di Cristina, who was shot in Palermo in May 1978, had connections with the "new mafia". The young Di Cristina would have been a mafia "soldier" in the service of the Gambino, Inzerillo, and Spatola families.

For the anthropologist, Riesi lends itself particularly well to a study of *chiazza* and *vicinatu* life, the quarters, and a number of religious and other symbols. But it is also true that, even historically, Riesi occupies a somewhat special place in the Province.

After an initial attempt to found a village failed, Riesi was re-established in the middle of the 17th century as a *feudu* (domain) of a Spanish nobleman, who offered housing to escapees and former prisoners from Palermo on the condition that they work for him. A small Spanish aristocracy emerged. A number of local notables today contend that they descend from them, and sometimes this diacritical element is involved in the socially "competitive" attitudes among the Riesini, in this case between those who are situated on the level of the *notabili* of the *paisi*.

Riesi was more densely populated between the two world wars than today. A large sulfur mine was then active in the area, and agriculture flourished. Typical for the somewhat special character of Riesi is that this *paisi* even tried to set itself up as a separate *repubblica di Riesi* in the beginning of the century, but this attempt was nipped in the bud from the provincial capital with only a minimum of effort.

Emigration has severely affected Riesi particularly since the last world war. The demographic zenith of the beginning of the century, 20,436 inhabitants, is long since a thing of the past.

Where Riesi may be considered typical for a *paisi* from the part of the province south of the city of Caltanissetta, another *paisi*, Sutera, is characteristic of a number of smaller *paisini* (villages) to the west of the provincial capital.

At the end of 1961, Sutera, a pearl on a rock near the *Valle del Platani*, had 4,447 inhabitants. Ten years later, there were only 2,686 people or 76 per km^2 over a total of 35.55 km^2. On 30 September 1985, 2,109 people lived there. The highest point is 819 m and the lowest 155 m for an inhabited height of about 590 m. From the city of Caltanissetta, a rather winding route leads to Sutera. Next to Mussomeli, it is, together with Acquaviva, Campofranco, and Milena, near the fertile valley of the Platani. There are no sulfur mines. The entire town is

oriented to, and dependent upon, agriculture. Although it is near Mussomeli, which had an important *capumafia* after the Second World War in the person of Don Peppe Genco Russo, the successor of Don Caluriu (Calo') Vizzini (from Villalba), Sutera has no mafia tradition to speak of. There is only one smaller *mafiusu* known from the period of shortly after the Second World War, but he had no successor. One may well assume that there were and are some less important "clients" of bosses such as Genco Russo or, more recently, Peppe Di Cristina, who although from Riesi, sometimes ate his midday meal in the village while on his way to Palermo.

Sutera is an extraordinarily beautiful place consisting of three quite clearly defined quarters suspended like veils around Monte San Paolino (819 m). This mountain is actually a rather steep rock with a fortified medieval castle on top. Sutera itself is about 200 m down from the summit. Like several places in Sicily such as the city of Caltanissetta, the name and architecture betray a long Arabic past. The first, most closed quarter, is called *Rabatu* or *Saraceni* Quarter. There is a small *chiazza* with *circuli* (social circles) for the *vecchietti* (old men). The large *chiazza* of the *paisi* is, however, in the Giardinello Quarter, where the *matrici* (main church of the *paisi*) is located. Specific for Sutera is that there are two *passiggiate* or walks: one for the married in the *chiazza* and one for the unmarried at the entrance of the village at the *via del Popolo*. This division into three *chiazze* with a *passiggiata* for the youth was convenient in our analysis of institutionalized *chiazza* life.

Like Riesi, Sutera is impermeated with the phenomenon of emigration. While the emigration from Riesi is primarily to Northern Italy (Genoa), Germany, Switzerland, France, and Belgium, the *chiazza* in the Giardinello Quarter in Sutera in the vacation months is populated primarily by emigrants who have returned from England and, to a lesser extent, from West Germany. It is striking how the emigrants during the months of July and August do not return to the Sutera of the other months but to their own kind or reality. They never actually "see" the many vacant houses, the lifeless streets in the daytime, the predominance of old people (the students are in Mussomeli or Palermo at that time of year). In July and August, Sutera lives very intensely a "different" life, in which English is not lacking on the *chiazza*. It is understandable, therefore, how this can form fertile soil for increasing idealization of the *paisi* of origin among emigrants who return for a few weeks every year or two to their village of origin for their vacation.

The emigration context of these three different places — Caltanissetta, Riesi, and Sutera — reveals the following profile.

The most classic form is emigration by contingent, which coincided with the beginning of the severe agricultural crisis in Southern Italy after the Second World War. This occurred in Riesi between 1946 and the first half of the 1950s. Some emigration from the old part of the city of Caltanissetta was also in this form. In such emigration, the economic motivation dominates as the push factor. This was also the case in towns such as Sutera between 1961 and 1971. In this case, one sees a very productive group of the population, which is representative for the entire *paisi,* depart in emigration. In later years, however, this profile changes. Undoubtedly, not being *economically* successful locally, not being economically able to support one's own respect (*rispettu*) on the *chiazza,* remains a push factor, but there arises a second push factor that is at least as important: social discomfort in one's own *paisi* or, more broadly, not being *socially* able to support one's own respect on the *chiazza*. Those who see themselves today as having succeeded socially, though perhaps not yet economically, do not emigrate.

This can be summarized as follows, with the caveat that generalizations are always inadequate. Where, on the level of the host country the economic factor is a necessary and sufficient condition to attract or repel immigrant workers, the economic factor in the first few years after 1945 was generally a necessary and sufficient condition in Sicily to push workers out of the country. This was still the case for those from the small *paisi* between 1961 and 1971, but in later years it no longer applied. In these later years, at least for what concerns Sicily, the economic factor must be joined and sometimes even replaced by the lack of social success, which is related to the Sicilian and Mediterranean concept of respect.

This is significant for the comprehension of certain mechanisms involved in returning or not. Those who leave from a situation of social integration in the *paisi* of origin and thus emigrate from purely economic considerations tend, once the objective in the host country is achieved, to return to their *paisi,* unless children (the second generation) bind them to the host country, which apparently occurs quite often. Those who leave from a situation of social non-integration and of discomfort with the *paisi* have no reason at all to return to the *paisi* when economic success is achieved in the host country. A number of people from the more recent emigration decades who never truly achieved social inte-

gration in the country of origin as well as in the host country give the impression of being dependent on very chance circumstances as to whether they will continue to live in the one country or the other. They then generally stay in the host country because of the children or because of the lack of prospects should they return.

As regards the push factors in Sicily, which generally work hand-in-hand with pull factors in the host countries as the situation in Belgium will show (see below, Ch. 5), it can be stated that a severe agricultural crisis, with the absence of other local employment opportunities, initiates emigration of the "guest-worker" type, because of the typical immigration policy in Western Europe, which differs from that of, for example, the U.S.A. For demographic reasons, Belgium, like France, encouraged family immigration, although this would have occurred even without such a policy as was the case in West Germany. After a time, this led to broader emigration because of network relationships, and the specific economic motive was replaced by other, more complex social motives.

Among all the emigrants, one notes a certain idealization of the *paisi* of origin, either positively or negatively. This is due to a number of subjective factors in the emigrant himself and to the "unnatural" nature of the vacation months in the *paisi*.

In the 1980s, because of the ongoing economic crisis in Northwest Europe, there has been a certain return of immigrants, and this time not only of older people, while the emigration to foreign countries continues, but to a much lesser extent than formerly.

Chapter 2
The Bellavias: A Case Study

Mamma Bellavia lives in a very thickly populated quarter in Caltanissetta city. There are no public parks. Most of the houses have three and a few have four floors. The geography of the quarter, which is situated on the last ridge of a hill, is also striking. The small streets are not level and are often connected by stairways. The primary street, a steep climb, is not one you would enjoy climbing twice. Automobiles strain climbing it, and you have to ride the breaks going down. In the 1950s, there was still a stairway. Below, in a basin, is the parish church with a small play area alongside for the children. Years ago, a few wealthy benefactors from outside the quarter had a chapel built in honor of San Caluriu somewhat further up. On the feastday of this typically Sicilian saint, the faithful shuffle up in rows to his statue and leave bread behind as an offering. In addition, the quarter has its kindergarten and a primary school. The *scuola media* (lower secondary school) is elsewhere in the quarter.

The streets are narrow, as are the houses. Some apartments, often occupied by the families with the most children — but this is changing in the 1980s —, have only two rooms. Most are somewhat larger.

In the middle of the quarter lives the Bellavia family. Two houses further on lives the Gallina family with ten children. Below them live the Ragusas with six children in one large room and one small room. Mamma Bellavia herself has a larger apartment, just like the Rotolos a few houses further where she regularly goes to drink a *caffè strettu* (espresso) as *Signura* Rotolo is a *cara amica* (dear friend). Just across from the Rotolos live the Costas, *gente per bene* (good people).

The phenomenon of emigration is well known in the quarter. Each year in the summer months, the emigrants spend a few days with relatives, but not too long because "*u pisci puzza dupu tri ghiurna*" (after three days a fish begins to stink). The men from the quarter work locally in construction as masons or painters or in a sulfur mine. The *viddani* have become a very small minority, and the *pasturi* (shepherd) is a rarity.

During the summer months — there is no relationship with the visit of the *parenti* (relatives) — a water shortage usually occurs, which the

municipal authorities regularly promise will never happen again. If the shortage becomes critical, water is supplied, and the women come and collect it in plastic bottles, midst arguments and laughter. The quarter lives.

During the day, the men are gone, and in the morning the children go to school. The women are on the street shopping. The children play on the streets particularly in the late afternoon. The neighborhood is dominated by the women, with women on the balconies and in front of the doors. Men stay behind only if necessary, artisans or tradesmen sitting on three-legged stools just over the thresholds of their shops with the door open, or serving clients from behind their counters, with one eye on the work and the other on the street. When the men come home from work, they change clothes and drift to the *chiazza* to meet their friends (*amici*). Later in the evening, the shoemaker and the butcher will join them.

Mamma Bellavia has spent her entire life in the same quarter of the same Sicilian *paisi*, although she has visited much of the world in her older years: Venezuela, Switzerland, Belgium, Morocco, and Rome, and actually she ought to fly to Canada, but that is another story. And she is getting old, more than 70.

"I have always looked for the substance", she said, "the family. Everything is secondary to that, even the emotional life. You always have to think about the family." She tells this in the course of a commentary on an engagement in the neighborhood, the young man not being considered a suitable match for the girl. She criticizes particularly the girl and her parents for this, and at the same time she explains that this is why in 1960, when her husband was still alive, she decided with him to take the daughter of his deceased brother Mario into her home until she got married. This decision was made when the girl wanted to elope (*scappari*) with her fiancé because her mother had opposed the engagement. Even though it was not her own child, still the honor (*onuri*) of the family was at stake. Mamma Bellavia knew what to do in such circumstances to prevent the family, and thus her deceased brother-in-law and thereby her husband, from being disgraced (*vrigogna*).

Mamma Bellavia has seven children: three sons and four daughters. They all received breast feeding for 20 months. "A matter of resources and of affection", she says. Now, after a long time in poverty before and after the war, she is living in a simple, but nice apartment.

Although one cannot see it on her directly, Mamma Bellavia had

anything but an easy life. Born on 20 November 1909, she married in 1929 a man who was twelve years older than she. Before the marriage, Giuseppe, her husband, had been twice to the U.S.A. and had set some money aside, so they were able to start a store in the *paisi*. This was successful until a few years before the Second World War. With the severe economic crisis, the people could not pay, so the store went bankrupt. Everything was sold, and the family moved into a cramped apartment with one room and a wooden partition so that the eldest sons could have a separate place to sleep. They spent the war years there, and, after the war, two children were added to the five they had already: Crocifissa (1946) and Assunta (1949).

Crocifissa actually was to have been aborted. She knows it and understands her mother. The abortionist then asked 4,000 lire, but this was 2,000 lire too much for Mamma Bellavia. After the last child, Assunta, whom a rich family wanted to buy — a proposal that still makes Mamma Bellavia's blood boil — she actually did have an abortion. Problems ensued, but the abortionist, a midwife, pretended that Mamma Bellavia had suffered a severe fall and had her hospitalized. In both cases, Mamma Bellavia acted strictly on her own initiative without the knowledge of her husband, who would have opposed it most strongly. In the second case, when the abortion actually did occur, her husband did find out, "but he didn't say a word", but she was sick then. Nevertheless, Mamma Bellavia is a fierce opponent of abortion, and she thanks the Lord for having punished her afterwards with a heart disease.

Between 1949 and 1952, Crocifissa and Assunta slept for a long time feet-to-feet between their parents. In 1952, the family moved to the larger apartment where Mamma Bellavia now lives. She established a very good relationship with her neighbors, the Modicas, who had been living there for some time. Assunta and Maria, the daughter of *Signura* Modica, were the best of friends and were in and out of each other's homes. The two mothers got along well, and dropped in regularly on each other for a *caffè strettu* or chatted across their balconies. The two fathers had respect for each other. The two families "esteemed" each other (*si stimarunu*).

Mr. Modica, who had a barbershop in the immediate vicinity of the *chiazza* Garibaldi, died in 1961, leaving his wife with three children. This meant the beginning of dark years for *Signura* Modica. One of her husband's customers arranged a job for her as concierge in an institution,

but the pay was dismal. Her eldest son, the *suttapatri,* Franco, was 15 years old, and, although he could get work locally, he and his friends could only think about Belgium, the land of plenty (*paisi di cuccagna*), so he decided to emigrate. A year later he brought his mother, sister, and younger brother to Belgium, and another family moved into the Modica's apartment.

Giuseppe, Mama Bellavia's husband, died in 1967. The eldest daughter, Teresa, had already been married a good six years to a young Sicilian emigrant from Venezuela and had left with him for South America. It would still be seven years before she returned for the first time to Sicily. The two eldest sons, Tanino and Mario, had just emigrated to Switzerland. Two other children, the daughters Anna and Assunta, would emigrate later.[1]

After the death of her husband, Mama Bellavia continued to live in her quarter. She has aged, and now seems to be smaller than before. A *cara amica, Signura* Rotolo, moved in a little further down the street. They regularly drop in on each other for a cup of coffee. No special reason. The Costas still live in the vicinity. But it is mostly Crocifissa, who found work in the *paisi*, who had become closer to *Signura* Costa. Although she was 30 years older than the 17-year-old Crocifissa, who was not yet engaged, *Signura* Costa was a true *amica*. The older woman gave a great deal of advice to Crocifissa about how everything should be done later, and the young Crocifissa freely questioned her.

Crocifissa, who was the last to leave her mother, met and married a young man when she was 25. At present, she is living in an apartment that had become free next door to her mother's.

At this time, Mamma Bellavia began to draw most of her support from her sisters, and not the least from Elvira, an unmarried sister who lives a short distance away and who goes to church every day. The two elderly sisters meet every day and discuss the events of the *paisi* and particularly of the quarter.

Sometimes they talk about things that happened years ago, sometimes things that recently happened or that will happen. Stories about *le corna* (the horns of a cuckold) and honor. Who is being unfaithful to whom? Cases of *dispettu* (disrespect). Who provoked whom? Disputes within and between families. Sicknesses and deaths. The chronic water shortage in the *paisi*. Smaller problems. And happy events, too: engagements, feasts, the annual visits of the emigrants, the last letter or the last telephone call from Assunta. The two sisters are very well informed

about who lives where abroad, at least those in the places where the children are. Elvira listens to her older sister, corrects her information, adds to it, comments on it, and tells in her turn.

Mamma Bellavia tells her sister about the Bacieri, and also discusses the Guarino family, whom Assunta Bellavia met in Brussels and whose parents do not live in the quarter but in a public housing project (*casa popolare*) of the new city. And then... oh yes, in the last letter from Brussels, her daughter wrote that se had met the young *Signura* B. from the quarter. They recognized each other, and the young *Signura* B. invited Assunta to her home. Mamma Bellavia is not completely at ease about this, the name B. sounds familiar for one reason or another. She asks Elvira for information, and Elvira promises to find out more by the next day.

The next day they get together again. Two cups of *caffè strettu* are on the table. Elvira makes a cutting movement with her right thumb under her right jaw. Mamma Bellavia nods to say that she already knows. She has been asking around herself. A letter had already been sent telling Assunta not to visit B.'s home. They are not *gente per bene*. The family is not a good family (*famigghia elevata*) but a bad family (*famigghia bassa*), indeed, the father is even a *po' mafiusa* (a bid mafia-like). The two families must have nothing to do with each other.

Crocifissa is not the only one of the Bellavia children to remain behind in the *paisi*. Michè, the youngest son, younger than Tanino, Teresa, Mario,and Anna, but older than Crocifissa and Assunta, also is there. The emigrants? He does not approve of them. It is wrong for them to leave their country, "their place is here, in the *paisi*, next to their mamma." "Of course, many things are bad here in the *paisi*. Italy is badly run. But you don't solve anything by emigrating." Moreover, people in Belgium and the other immigrant countries are, in his opinion, *cornuti* (cuckolds). "With all those strangers in your house!" However, this does not keep him from being very helpful to his brothers and sisters when they come to Sicily on vacation. But their opinions on most everything have diverged a great deal, which is not surprising. "*Ogni testa è un tribunale*", each head is a tribunal, the Sicilians say.

In 1975, Mamma Bellavia drew up her will. Tanino is the eldest son, and the parental house goes to him even though he emigrated to Switzerland. He sends 100 Swiss francs to his mother each month, has remained unmarried — who knows, maybe until all his sisters married — and will return definitively to Sicily in the near future. He is seeing to

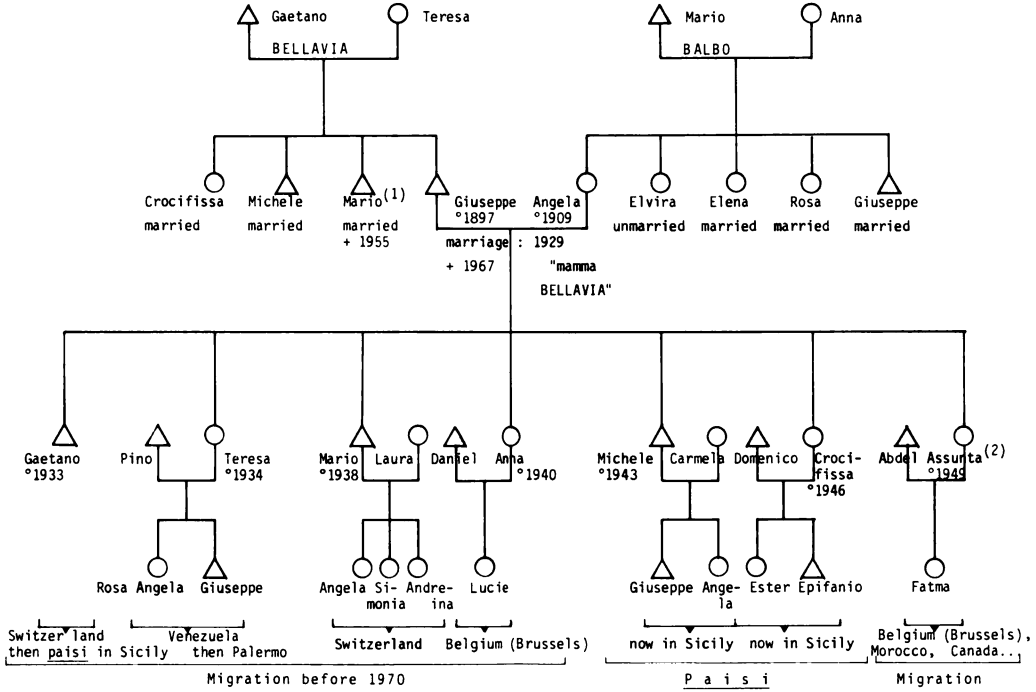


Figure 1

(1) It was a daughter of this Mario who has taken into the Bellavia home when she wanted to run away, *scappari*, with a young man.

(2) Assunta is the only one of the children who was not named after an older relative but afther the patron saint of the day after she was born because the cat Mamma Bellavia had at the time had the name of the saint whose feastday was on Assunta's birthday.

it that his pension will be enough to be able to live in Sicily. "The house is for Tanino", Mamma Bellavia said, "he knows that he may never sell it. He is my eldest son, my favorite child. He will certainly keep it in the family. He knows that it has to stay there. The last clause of my will says that Tanino has to pay for the burial of his mother."

In 1979, Elvira, Mamma Bellavia's favorite sister, died.

A year later, Mamma Bellavia fell ill. Her children wanted her to be admitted to a nursing home, but she refused, which they could not understand. The mentality among the young people is changing significantly, also in Caltanissetta. Only Tanino, the eldest son, seems to understand the position of his mother. He quit his job in Switzerland prematurely and cannot claim retirement benefits, and moved back to Sicily to make care of her. For the time being, they are living on her small pension. A good part of his time is spent taking care of her. For her part, Mamma Bellavia is beginning to suffer from lapses of memory and confuses Tanino more and more with her deceased husband. She regularly addresses him as such.

At this writing, in the middle of the 1980s, her other children are dispersed over Sicily, Canada, Belgium, and Switzerland.

Chapter 3
The Sicilian Culture: A Phenomenological Reading

In the Introduction, we were concerned with the place where the anthropological fact was situated. In the embedding of the global sociocultural event with is sociological and historical forces, there is the culture as, for example, it is articulated in conversation and expressed in gesture.

An initial phenomenological reading of the Sicilian cultural code sees the culture as a contextual whole within which social events, behavior, expressed feelings and motives, institutions, and processes — as they are experienced by the reflexive, speaking group member — are described in a meaningful way. This is done by means of concepts, each of which manifest their own complexity and are coherently linked with each other.

1. Honor and respect as challenge and being challenged

The anthropological literature on honor is largely focussed on the man in the Mediterranean relationship system, honor and shame being functional values that fit in an endogamous marriage strategy. Honor adorns a father who can give his daughter as a virgin to her bridegroom; honor also adorns the bridegroom who can obtain a chaste bride exclusively for himself.

Among Sicilians, one speaks of honor (*onuri*) in these cases. Honor is the challenge that one creates actively oneself or that one endures passively from others and that is concerned primarily with the domestic space and purity.

Alongside honor there is also respect (*rispettu*) which can be seen as a functional correlate in a culture of poverty whereby equality is forced in the daily struggle for existence and whereby rare and legitimate economic success compels everyone's respect. The winning of respect amounts to increased personal independence.

It is noteworthy that Mediterranean, and certainly Sicilian, honor is

less passive than, for example, our Northern European notion of honor: it concerns a being oriented relationally to the other in an attitude of challenge and being challenged. Competitivity is implied.

A Sicilian man is honorable primarily to the extent that he can exercise perfect control over the sexuality of the women of his immediate circle of relations and primarily of his own wife, the mother of his children, and then of his marriageable daughters. It fundamentally concerns the women of his nuclear family (*famigghia nucleari*). Secondarily and also less sanctioned, it also concerns the women in the extended family (*famigghia allargata*). Within the extended family, however, the head of a nuclear family to which the woman who has escaped the control does not belong is not affected as much and is not as much a *cornutu* (cuckold) as the head of her own nuclear family.

The sexual control of closely related women constitutes fundamentally Sicilian honor, the challenging and challenged honor of the house.

This honor can be increased to the degree that respect in another sense of the term is added to the house (*la casa*) by the activity of the adult man. This happens when the house has or maintains a healthy economic base or when it, in the event of a poor family, bears poverty worthily, that is, by hiding it. A Sicilian man is respectable, *un omu di rispettu*, in the supplementary economic sense of the term, to the degree that he can achieve all this by his own doing. Ordinarily, this is paired with a generally applicable, at least symbolic, authority of the man, the *pater familias*, although it is rarely accompanied by an actual control of the family, which would be unattainable in practice.

There is a third, less precisely defined testing field for the complex of honor and respect: social prestige, the social status that one enjoys, the esteem (*stima*) based on education, knowledge, or instrinsic qualities, such as, for example, the fact of being, as a friend (*amicu*), a trustworthy man (*un omu di fiducia*) who manages his own affairs (*i fatti suoi*). Together with economic status, social status is the field on which the rivalry for higher prestige is the keenest in everyday life and for which the *chiazza* is the great stage for men: economic and social prestige (*rispettu*) and moral esteem (*stima*). If one does not recognize another in public for what he is or pretends to be, then one speaks not of dishonor (which is worse) but of disrespect (which is also bad, but less so). This kind of disrespect, i.e. not only a lack of respect but deliberately destroying another persons respect, leads, when it is felt keenly, to the typical Sicilian *sciarriarsi* (not speaking to one another) between two

people and thus between two nuclear families and possibly even — depending on the importance of those involved and the seriousness of the insult — between extended families. *Iddi sugnu sciarriati*: they are in dissension; they no longer speak to each other; they no longer exist for each other, not only for a day, but for weeks, months, and even years, and, though exceptionally, sometimes for more than one generation. The *sciarriarsi* is a compromise between two extremes, namely, not reacting at all, which is disrespectable, and reacting too strongly as though it was a matter of true dishonor, which has irreparable consequences such as requiring settlement with the *lupara*, a sawed-off double-barreled shotgun.

Finally, there is still a fourth testing field for the complex of honor and respect, the physical, which is less severely, but still really sanctioned. Today, it is not a question of honor but of respect. It implies that a man in no area at all may manifest spontaneous timidity or obvious shyness. Perhaps, we have here a more original meaning of honor, the importance of which has declined with the disappearance of the pastoral life and with increasing modernization. "During the past two centuries, the role of physical strength in the West European concept of honour has lost much of its significance".[1]

When we apply this fourfold distinction to Sicilians, we must keep in mind that the social use of these terms does have class differences. Thus, for example, a Sicilian aristocrat such as Don Fabrizio, Prince Salina, the *Gattopardo*[2] (the tiger), would see in the honor first and foremost the name and the history of his own pure blood. And when a layman performs a service for religion, for example when the poorest of the *paisi* carry the Cross of Christ on Good Friday in Caltanissetta, this, too, is an honor. But in these two cases, we are outside the realm of ordinary social life.

The complement of honor is shame, scandal, or disgrace, the *vrigogna*. When honor increases in importance, shame/scandal, naturally, also increases in importance. A society that thinks of itself in terms of "honor" tries to avoid shamelessness and disgrace. *Vrigogna* is the pain that is felt upon dishonor and disrespect and, in another meaning, the appropriate positive modesty. Like honor and respect, it is a key concept.

Where the subject of honor and respect is a man, its object (and we stress that this is a male-oriented focus) is the woman, who has to take care that she does not become a *svrigognata*, an immodest person.

Honor and shame are the two expressive poles of one and the same reality. A woman with a sense of shame is an honorable woman and thereby the honor of her husband, her house, and her children. Constance Cronin correctly points out that shame in Northern Europe is something that one feels: one is ashamed about something. In other words, it concerns reactions to an event. However, in Sicily, "One is born with it and keeps it by decorous actions such as using a low voice or sitting correctly in a chair, behaving submissively to authority figures, and cherishing one's own purity."[3] Thus, the Sicilian *vrigogna,* as positively oriented modesty, is a quality with which a woman is born.

The Sicilian culture requires women to keep this inborn shame pure, which is done primarily by being obedient to authoriy figures such as the father and the husband and by being pious. In the eyes of the man, the merit of the woman consists not so much that she take her own initiatives in this matter or be creative, but that she preserve the condition in which she was born as perfectly as possible through her marriage until her death. It is also a basis of comparing girls with each other. The Riesini contend that one can find a girl in Riesi, in contrast to, for example, Caltanissetta city, as pure as when she came out of her mother (*"tantu pulita comu è uscita dalla mamma"*). In the same logic, everything that happens outside of the home is cast in an unfavorable light for unmarried daughters: the outside world cannot improve the original condition of *vrigogna* but only damage it.

Is this all a question of physical acts? Clearly not, although the physical is also involved, of course. Actually, the opinion of the people (*la gente*) is already sufficient, for shamelessness does not necessarily have to be based on real facts. One can be gossiped about by the group, which is scandalous enough in itself, or be the occasion of it by speech, gestures, and clothing. Shamelessness easely becomes disgrace. If the interplay of honor and shame is to come to a good end, then the woman in a Sicilian village culture or in the neighborhood of the city, must be modest and reserved, at least for the entire period in which she could be a valuable sexual partner. However, this can, in association with the economic prestige of the house, be accompanied by external signs of prosperity demonstrated by the woman in the form of clothing and jewelry.

Is a woman then purely passive in this competition for honor and respect? Honor and *vrigogna* are family matters or, in the words of Mamma Bellavia, "the family is the substance". It would be hard for the

woman not to be active and concerned about whenever possible. For the preservation of the inborn modesty, a woman takes no risks and protects herself passively, but that does not prevent her from actively contributing to the enhancement of the honor and respect in her own way in her own domain where the culture permits her to do so. It would witness to male naïveté if the woman were assigned a purely passive and marginal position in this entire concern for honor and respect. Within her *vicinatu*, the married Sicilian woman is much more active in the development of strategies for the preservation or increase of the honor of *la casa* than male-oriented anthropology used to consider possible. Christ'l Joris, who studied the female conceptual world in Sicily in her field work, demonstrates convincingly the existence of a female interpretation of the *paisi* life. Thus, for example, her analysis of the composition of the bridal outfit (the *corredu*), which is exclusively a female matter, reveals how the mother tries to enhance the honor of the family by its quality and quantity and how a clearly competitive element is involved.[4]

How are these things held separate and together at the same time? Is it possible to determine an implicit common factor for the complex of honor, respect, esteem, and shame or modesty? In the discussion of the cultural gestalt in the following chapter, this problem is treated at length. What it amounts to is that the man symbolises the countenance of his home and his family to the outside world and that he does this flawlessly when he, together with his family, maintains the Sicilian spatial division. On the one hand, there is the *chiazza* life, which is "his" life, and the workplace; on the other hand, there is the private space that is the world of the woman, who sometimes so dominates the inside of the house that the man becomes almost alien to it. Our considerations on honor and shame lead us to a division between the intradomestic and the extradomestic spaces. The two poles must always be distinguished but still held together as complements, lest the analysis lead to onesidedness or caricatures. This occurs when one speaks of either a paternal or a maternal culture, while the two readings actually presume each other. The one could not exist without the other. The actors themselves of the cultural game know this all too well. The link between the two readings is articulated in the duality of honor and shame. Geographically, this link is anchored in the home.

2. The Home, the Nuclear family, and the Extended Family

In the literature, there is some discussion about whether the family in Sicily is an extended family or not. Indeed, in the technical sense of the word, there are no "extended families" in Sicily, where many important initiatives center on the nuclear family, i.e., the parents and their unmarried children.[5] Nevertheless, Sicily offers occasion for doubt in this regard, as the circle of relatives does have certain specific rights and obligations. And, perhaps, the present strong emphasis on the nuclear family could be of much more recent date than is generally supposed, for there are indications that the extended family was much more important at the beginning of this century than is now the case, although its social and moral significance may still not be discounted. We will first examine the nuclear family in order to understand the internal systematic on the phenomenological level of the reading, and then we will consider the rights and obligations of the extended family, in which we will distinguish two circles: the close relations (married brothers, married sisters, married children) and the more distant relations (*parenti luntani*) to the fourth and further degrees.

a. The Nuclear Family: la Mamma and la Casa

"*Cca commandu iu e Diu*", here I and God command, a 76-year-old Sicilian grandmother (*nonna*) assured me. She lived with her husband and three unmarried daughters (her son was married and had two children). "I have never tolerated anyone coming in for my daughters. In my house, only God comes in." This is a somewhat extreme "maternal" version of what, nevertheless, tends to be a reality in Sicilian society, although it is heavily veiled by the male-cultural external symbols. It would be incorrect to say that the father was not the ultimate pole of authority, even within the home. But in the praxis of concrete life, maternal authority is qualitatively and extensively of such a nature that the paternal authority role is strongly relativized. In the example above, this is because it is a *nonna* who is speaking, but this is also due to the frequent physical absence of the father, the dominant maternal role in the raising of the children, and the close bonds between the mother and her sons, particularly with the eldest son (*suttapatri*), who ordinarily begins to vie with his father for authority when he is 15 years old.

In passing, we would note that the relationship between the spouses-

parents and their positions within the family change in a certain sense when the eldest son enters adolescence. It seems from that time on that the mother and the eldest son form a complementary-symmetrical relationship, almost like sister and brother, to create, as it were, a new pole in the family. At this time, the father tends to be pushed out of the home towards his group of friends. Apparently, the man at this age finds in his group of male friends a complete and autonomous support group and no longer needs to look to any complement outside of that group.

How can one reconcile the nuclear family in Southern Italy being simultaneously father-dominated and mother-oriented?[6] Is there a specific explanation for it in Sicily?

With an implicitly strong viricentric and functionalist emphasis, Constance Cronin's answer is as follows: "The major problem, from which all others derive, stems from the culture's demand that men do anything — make all decisions, carry out most of them themselves, and delegate the rest of the tasks to others while still remaining responsible for them. To do all this requires not only a considerable amount of time, but, more important, skill, intelligence, farsightedness, craftiness, and the ability to manipulate situations and people. Unfortunately, very few men have all the requisite skills."[7] Indeed, the culture requires the man to make all decisions, in the home and outside it, that he be the breadwinner, and that he himself perform all the activities outside the family, outside *la casa*. Now, it is impossible for a man, today, to meet all these cultural demands in practice. "Sicily is one example of a society in which the cultural ideals and the social system are out of balance and where a system of adjustment has developed to deal with this problem. This adjustment permits the culture and the society to continue, but it also forces individual men and women to play roles that are far more complex than is usually believed."[8]

But note, while *la casa* is mother-oriented, a housewife would never speak like the grandmother who would only let God enter. At the age of 40, a *mamma* does not yet have this explicit authority and cannot yet speak in authoritarian terms about her role in the family because, as Cronin noted, "it is extremely important that the cultural rules concerning male and female roles be maintained; if it appears that they have been broken, disaster will result. The man who does not command is not a man, while the woman who does command has lost her *vergogna*."[9]

The grandmother above could say what she said precisely because she is a 76-year-old grandmother. After the onset of menopause, the authority of the woman in Sicily increases. She acquires, as it were, her full social

status at menopause and only then comes completely into her "rights".

But what is the due of the younger wife-mother in practice? She does have autonomous, albeit "delegated", authority over what happens within the home, including child raising, but under the proviso that she respects the cultural roles. Secondarily, she has control over a number of outside-the-home activities that are directly related to inside the home, for example, shopping and contacts with the municipal authorities. Nevertheless, it is only when simultaneously both the economic need of the family requires it and the social control weakens (as in some of immigrant neighborhoods) that the man will allow his wife to go out to earn money. The democratization of education with girls being granted the same rights as boys will, of course, necessarily influence this in the long run, and, indeed, the effects are already apparent. In Sicily, in the second half of the 1970s, obvious role changes were taking place that can be attributed to the generalization and extension of education and to the thoroughgoing professionalization of public life, as was the case in the welfare sector.

All of this explains why, traditionally, the man in the choice of his marriage partner does not seek so much a partner with whom he can share emotions but someone who both can keep house (*sa teniri la casa*) and is not muddle-headed (*testa confusa*)

Since what is involved here for the mother is "delegated" authority, although this is sometimes but not always the only authority actually exercised, this authority is generally not positively executive but rather "clearing" and "restrictive", and only positively demanding in some specifically female matters. This authority is "clearing" in the sense that the mother transmits the questions and desires of the children to the father and tries to bring back a positive response to the children. Her maternal authority over her sons is restrictive in that she does not present positive prescriptions for their behavior but does try to stop them from doing what displeases her. Her concern, for example, is not that her sons make friends with X or Y, but to examine the friends her sons have chosen on their own initiative and to test their acceptibility for the family.

Her authority is indeed positive for her daughters, however, and this is specifically female matters (preparatory for marriage and motherhood). But one may not underestimate this authority as regards either its quality or range. For the object of the concern is *la casa,* and the woman is the home (*la fimmina è la casa*). Ultimately what is involved here is the prestige (honor and positive feminine modesty) of the family. As regards the range of this authority, one must realize that it concerns a society that

is segregated in important areas, in which there is a typically female approach to certain areas that are, in principle, inaccessible for the man, just as inaccessible as the man's world of the *chiazza* is for the woman. The fact that the male world view represents the "official" Sicilian culture should not blind us to the concrete weakness of this "official" culture and to the important resources the female *vicinatu* has to determine the promotion or hindrance of interfamily relations. In the *vicinatu,* the father is absent. In the raising of his daughters, he, at most, confirms in his actions the concepts of the woman's world, and the mother is firmly in control of these matters.

In view of her subtle role, particularly with regard to her sons, and since she is the only one who can hold together in her person the sometimes contradictory relationships within the nuclear family, every Sicilian will say that *la mamma* is sacred. She represents the unity of the home for every member of the family, in short, the home itself. The home is often the stage of very tense emotional relationships, and the only positive binding force is the mother.

Maureen Giovannini, in answering the question of "what characteristics do women possess that allow them to 'represent' the family unit",[10] sees the Woman as "an inclusive dominant symbol"[11], thereby using a concept developed by Victor Turner[12]. In the inclusive dominant symbol of the Woman, she sees the coalescence of a set of six "interrelated conceptual images" — three positive: virgin, mother, and Madonna; and three negative: whore, stepmother, and witch — each triad having two natural referents and one supernatural referent. *La mamma* seems to stand for the natural, positive life-giving and nourishing meaning bearer within the family and within the home: formerly a virgin, the *mamma* symbolizes in her faithfulness the domestic purity that is life giving and life nourishing. "When I questioned people..., they openly acknowledged the equation which they were making between the female body and the family unit."[13] Upon closer examination, "the woman is the family" is equivalent to "the mother is the family" and this, in its turn, to "the mother is the home".

b. The Nuclear Family: The Other Members

And the father? He is more remote, and his affective ties with his children are not as strong as the mother's. Indoors is not, of course, his space, and in practice he necessarily leaves many domestic decisions to

his wife. When his children are younger than 6 or 7, he often has a playful relationship with them, which then becomes rather "indifferent" when they are between 7 and 12. When his sons and daughters are 12 to 13 years old, another change in the domestic relationships occurs. His daughters are from then on supervised strictly by his wife, and his sons gradually manifest the urge to become representatives of the family to the outside like their father. Since the father and the son must refer to the same nuclear family, this not rarely leads to farreaching rivalry and sometimes hatred for the father as the son grows older. This lasts until the son founds his own family.

Very often, the mother serves as a buffer between the father and his adolescent son in order to soften the struggle. It is at this moment that the very typical affection between the Sicilian mother and her son is generated, and she will tolerate everything in her son, sometimes even his most erratic whims. The mother does all this, of course, for the sake of the honor and prestige of the family and for the appearance that her growing son must maintain on the *chiazza*. But there are also other domestic affective preferences involved.

Between the ages of 20 and 25, the young man thinks about establishing himself on his own: he gets engaged, marries, and takes up in his turn the role of husband in a nuclear family. The affective bond between mother and son therefore enters a critical stage, which is expressed in a sometimes very keen rivalry between the young man's mother and his wife. This friction can continue for several months. In this period, the young wife tries to win her husband gradually for herself — at the expense of the mother, of course — by providing a good table but primarily by giving her husband a child, preferably a son. Normally, the wife wins in this unequal struggle with the mother, and the new détente usually involves a cooling of the relationship with the family of the husband, with contacts being reduced to formal visits. The young family then draws nearer the family of the wife, particularly as the relationship between the now married sisters becomes closer.

Between the wife and the mother-in-law in Sicily the relationship is sometimes tense for life, and, in extreme cases, it can take the form of a perception of the *suocera* as a *strega*, i.e., the mother-in-law (*suocera*) is perceived to be a witch (*strega*).

A new nuclear family develops in the meantime in the home of the married son. Children are born. A child is first a *picciriddu* (0 to about 4 years), and is petted, kissed, cuddled, and squeezed by everybody.

Around 4 to 5 years old, it becomes a *picciuteddu,* and this it remains until about 9 to 10 years of age. The child is introduced to the sex-bonded priorities and to a number of formal sexual differences. At 9 or 10 years old, the child becomes a *picciottu,* and the formal sexual differences gradually acquire definitive content and become sex-bonded cultural differences. A few years later, the father withdraws: he becomes exclusively a man of the *chiazza* and the breadwinner at home; the mother comes more and more explicitly to the fore: first in the life of her daughters, to whom she contributes modesty as a concern for something that they have in themselves from birth, and later also as a buffer between her husband and her son, who has in the meantime learned from both parents the sense of honor. The girls are taken up rather early into the life of the *vicinatu,* the female neighborhood; the boys, too, are included in the *vicinatu* to a degree, although for them it is less happy because they are often ridiculed by the women as representatives of the male sex and are often teased about their weaknesses.

As soon as it is at all possible, around the age of ten, the boys try to withdraw from the *vicinatu* life and, somewhat later, to orient themselves to the *chiazza*. As *picciotti,* the boys are somewhat lost between the *vicinatu* and the *chiazza*. Around 16 or 17, however, the lines are drawn more clearly. One remains a *picciottu* in principle until one is an *omu,* at the age of 21. Under the influence of Italian, and probably also because the life of a boy between 9 and 15 years of age is different from that between 16 and 21, in Sicily one speaks presently rather of a *picciottu* until 16 and of a *giovinottu* (young man) thereafter. One remains a *giovinottu* until marriage and acquires the status of *omu,* unless one is not married by the age of 30. The terms *scapolu* (unmarried man) and *zitella* (unmarried woman) have negative connotations, particularly in the case of a woman.

In the meantime, on the affective level, some typical cultural bonded relationships have developed. We have seen that a privileged relationship between the boy and his mother develops during adolescence along with rivalry with his father. Between father and daughter, a warm relationship can arise, but modesty prevents the two from growing closer to each other emotionally. The same occurs between mother and daughter. There is a difference, however, because the mother and the daughter have a great deal to do with each other in the concrete problems of daily life and also because the mother plays an extremely detailed educational and sanctioning role with respect to her daughters — par-

tially out of fear for their future — which generally prevents a true friendship (*amicizia*) from developing between them. Sexual subjects are normally not discussed between them.

In addition to the vertical relationship between parents and children, there are the horizontal relationships among the children. Generally the brother and sister relationships are not very pleasant. The brother shares the responsibility for the honor of his sisters, even though he might be younger and have little experience. Moreover, he often behaves accordingly, even though he may claim the contrary. The brother enjoys so much priority in everything over his sisters that it is difficult for a friendship to develop between them, and this difficulty can also persist later after marriage. Between brothers, things are a bit better, but each of them ultimately has to take over the responsibility for their own nuclear family, which means that conflicting interests ultimately push them apart. Things go considerably better, culturally and in fact, between sisters. After marriage, a true friendship can develop, which then forms the basis for social contacts between their families. And there is a proverb: "*i parenti zu mugghieri su duci comu meli, ed i parenti su maritu su aghiri comu l'acitu*" (the relatives of the wife's side are as sweet as honey, and those of the husband's side are as sour as vinegar).

A Sicilian nuclear family is not a simple reality but an interplay of often very complex and emotionally charged relationships and mechanisms where hate, rivalry, love, and passion are intertwined — relationships that recur in the smallest circle of the extended family as a logical extension of the former nuclear family situation. Nevertheless, the unity of the family and its closedness towards the outside world (with the *diffidenza,* mistrust, toward the "other") will always be stressed and also effectively prevail, with the *mamma* as the queen (*la mamma è sacra,* because she holds the entire structure together). Indeed, "Sicilians have faith only in the family — not in themselves, not in other people, not in the community, not in the nation, and not even in God most of the time.[14]

c. The Nuclear Family: A Small Survey

During the period we spent in the Puzziddu Quarter in 1976, 45 interviews were conducted: 25 with married women between 40 and 50 years of age and 10 with unmarried women and 10 with unmarried men between 19 and 25 years of age, all from different households. To the

question of to whom a son speaks if he is wrestling with a serious, strictly personal problem (e.g. a sexual matter), his father, his mother, or both or neither, 20 of the married women answered that he discusses it "with his mother" and 5 "with his father". To the same question, but now as regards a daugther, 22 answered "with her mother" and 3 "with her father". Of the 10 unmarried women, 7 would discuss it "with their mothers", 1 "with her father", 1 "with her sister", and 1 "with nobody". Of the 10 unmarried men, 5 would discuss it "with their mothers", 1 "with his father", and 4 "with nobody". The same questions were asked of 100 boys and 100 girls in the scientific secondary school (*liceo scientifico*) in the outskirts of the new part of the city of Caltanissetta. This sample was from a somewhat higher social level than in the Puzziddu Quarter. Forty-two girls said they would discuss it with their parents, of whom 9 would discuss it exclusively with their mothers because of their friendship with her. Fifty-eight girls said they would not discuss it with their parents. Of the boys, 22 answered that they would discuss it with their parents, of whom 11 exclusively with the mother and none (as with the girls) exclusively with the father. Seventy-eight boys answered that they would not discuss it with either parent.

When it was asked in the Puzziddu Quarter with whom one had the best contacts at home, the relatives on the father's side or the relatives on the mother's side, the answer was 5 for the father's side and 22 for the mother's side, among whom 9 specified that it was with the sisters of the mother and not her brothers (the others did not specify); 18 reported that there was no difference.

d. The Distrust (Diffidenza) of Non-Relatives

Although cordiality and hospitality are certainly very prominent qualities of the Sicilian, the stress of the family as a unit and closedness implies that there is always a fundamental distrust of non-relatives.

In addition to cultural elements, undoubtedly historical reasons also play a role here, for example, the former rural mafia, which the parents still generally knew. Both elements, the cultural and the historical, reinforced previously by a concern to keep land in the family (something that often occurs in peasant cultures) led to a proportionally greater number of marriages between cousins. This does not occur so often in Sicily any longer — in Santa Croce (Badia) 11 of 348 marriages in 10 years (September 1965 to 30 August 1975) and seven of 191 marriages

in the subsequent eight years (September 1975 to 30 August 1983) — but it does occur more often in certain immigrant neighborhoods in Belgium. This is one of the points where some immigrants display a possible tendency to archaism.

Worthy of special mention within the cultural logic is the great importance that is attached to the institutional moment of recognizing someone from outside the family as a family member, i.e., when one is assigned the same trust as a relative would enjoy. One becomes a family member in a certain sense by becoming the godfather of a child of the family (at the same time, the godfather provides somewhat of a guarantee for the future of the child) or a *cumpari* or *cummari* of the parents on the occasion of a major cultural-sacramental feast. By *cumparatu*, one becomes quasi-kin.[15] Becoming a godparent, it must be noted, is primarily to establish a relationship with the parents.

e. The Extended Family

When we move from the nuclear family to the extended family, we distinguish two circles. The first circle of relatives consists of the married sisters, the married brothers, and the married children and their children. Here are operative the relationships that gradually were established on a cultural basis in the former nuclear family: closer contacts between the relatives of which the relationship proceeds via the women, usually between sisters and their families. However, help can also be offered within the extended family for minor, very concrete problems or when the honor of the family is threatened, for example, in the case of a *fuiuta* (flight of a girl with a boy with the intention of marriage). Incidently, *fuiute* occur more often than one might expect, so that each extended family sooner or later has to cope with it in one form or another. Of the 348 marriages in the Santa Croce church near the Badia of Caltanissetta city (1 September 1965 to 30 August 1975), 42 took place after a *fuiuta*, i.e. 12.06 %.[16] A later, supplementary survey of the period from 1 September 1975 to 30 August 1983 revealed 19 *fuiute* out of 191 marriages, i.e., 9.9 % (after 1983, the number of marriages celebrated in the Santa Croce church declined considerably and almost no more *fuiute* are listed). The assistance given by the extended family is concerned with honor and only rarely involves money. This applies even for emigration by Sicilians. Unlike unmarried children, married children, married brothers or sisters, will normally not give financial support

either to the nuclear family of origin or to each other, and it is not expected of them.

In the old part of the city of Caltanissetta, we maintained regular contacts with something more than 50 families for an extended period. A small-scale budget survey with a few supplementary questions was conducted among a number of them in 1976. With the aid of a priest, this group was able to be expanded to 60 families. These were average families, thus neither poor nor rich. The typical family of the survey consisted of two parents, one child under 14 years of age and one or two older children. Ordinarily, there were married children, but these children were not counted. In 51 of the 60 cases, the wife worked only at home. The families had an average income of 293,083 lire per month (in 1976) and another 20,307 lire per month from all supplementary sources (sewing, sale of fruit or vegetables). The average expenditures varied around 268,246 lire per month, of which about 20,000 lire went for pocket money. Of the 60 families, there were only nine who did not have close relations who had emigrated. Twelve families had one or more sons, daughters, brothers, or sisters who had emigrated, and 39 had one or more uncles, aunts, or cousins who had. These uncles, aunts, or cousins never sent money to any of the surveyed families, but married children, brothers, or sisters did, although the contribution was generally purely symbolic. The situation was different for the unmarried children, and certainly so when there was an obvious financial reason for the emigration, such as burdensome debts.

The closely related families are clearly more sensitive to each other's honor than for each other's economic and social prestige (respect).

Dishonor brought to the family of a married brother or sister compromises the other brothers and sisters much more than in the case of disrespect or *sciarriarsi* (i.e. being no longer on speaking terms because of a not too serious insult) between two families, in which the nuclear families of married brothers or sisters need not *per se* be involved.

In the wider circle of relatives (third and fourth degree and further), there is no question at all of affection but of obligations (*doviri*) and respect for one's own blood. Normally, no appeal is made nowadays to these relatives for affection or assistance, and such is not offered spontaneously except in extraordinary circumstances, as on the occasion of a death (and the subsequent ritual of *lu visitu*[17], the formal visit to mourning relatives in the event of a death) or of a severe illness or if a handicapped child is involved (which is considered a disgrace). The

entire extended family also participates in certain festivities such as a marriage. But help is normally not requested from a distant relative unless he happens to be the only means of obtaining an important recommendation for a job. For the rest, the contacts remain limited primarily to the rather superficial maintenance of the forms of mutual respect. Older people say that it used to be different in more rural contexts, but Sicilians do not seem to be very enthusiastic about their distant relatives: *amicu pruvatu è cchiù di lu parintatu* (a proven friend is better than a relative). Often, the extended family is the source of more problems than help, because it, like the *vicinatu,* forms a tight network of social control around the family with the difference that the neighborhood offers more concrete help and enjoyment in compensation.

3. The Male, Positive, Non-Family Relations *(Amicizia)*

We have seen above that the personal friend (*amicu pruvatu*) is valued more than the distant relative (*parenti luntanu*). It is often said among Sicilians that friendship is sacred (*l'amicizia è sacra*). *Sacra* here means the same as when it is applied to the *mamma*. As the mother is indispensable for the unity of the family, so is "friendship" indispensable for the survival of the family in the society. We distinguish between male and female friendship and restrict ourselves for the moment to the male friendship. *Amicizia,* for the men, can be literally translated by "friendship". What it amounts to is a positively experienced extrafamilial relationship that is maintained with extreme care.

Before going into the multiple meanings of male friendship, we will describe first the group of friends involved. Groups of friends are very homogeneous, the members being equivalent in sex, age, and more or less also in professional status. On the *chiazza*, it concerns exclusively groups of male friends.

How does friendship function sociologically? The typical friend is not a relative, and the relationship between two friends is created on a free will basis with an eye to, among other things, mutual service. Structurally, there are also other factors such as the mutual mirroring function and complementarity, but these are less conscious elements. On the conscious level, the stress is given to equality and mutual assistance. Jeremy Boissevain described this friendship as follows: "the Sicilian

divides the world around him into kin and non-kin. The former are allies with whom he shares reciprocal rights and obligations of mutual assistance and protection. The latter are either enemies or potential enemies, each of whom is seeking to protect and improve the position of his own family... Thus the basic problem the Sicilian faces in dealing with the world of non-kin is how to protect himself from his enemies, both known and unknown... Most resolve these problems by seeking out strategically placed protectors and friends, who, together with kinsmen, make up the personal network of contacts through whom the average Sicilian attempts to protect and advance the fortunes of his family."[18]

While Boissevain classifies friends and protectors together among the non-relatives, presumably because of the utilitarian function they both serve, we would argue for a fundamental distinction between the two categories on the basis of characteristics other than the utilitarian.

Although the friend is not a relative, in spite of the sociological instrumental finality, the friendship bond easily takes the form of a familial relationship: there also occur many, often sincere, gestures of magnanimity. Although such gestures are not always intended instrumentally in their spontaneity, they do place the beneficiary in a position of indebtedness. This position of indebtedness is maintained in a certain sense by the refusal of the benefactor of an immediate reward by counter-performance. The counter-performance is postponed. Later, a reciprocal service, often of a different nature, will be suggested. In the meantime, the bond is kept alive *in chiazza* by a number of non-instrumental forms of interaction and often sincere emotional friendship. Why, then, do we call such a friendship instrumental? Jane and Peter Schneider describe it as follows: "In Western Sicily, the friendship tie seems to be self-serving in the sense that people do not make the distinction between 'business friends' and 'social friends'. Thus, there is no contradiction in having a friend and using him or her as a resource."[19]

Friendship, however, is more than instrumental, for it is also a reflection of the society. The group of friends represents society on a contracted scale for the individual, and his behavior is subject to the judgment and criticism of his friends, which is, at the same time, a judgment of society: the group of friends acts as a mirror and serves as the vehicle for determining whether or not the individual acts or speaks in a socially adequate manner. Their judgment is the judgment of society, and if the group of friends is strong enough, i.e., if the indivi-

dual has the strongest group of friends among many others, he can also, in a sence, influence the judgment of the *paisi*, the whole of norms and behavior, and possibly change it, particularly when gossip is involved. In Chapter 4, we will see that friendship also has a mirroring relationship with the intradomestic space, and with this we come to the identity confirming function of friendship.

Alongside an instrumental and a reflective function with respect to the society and the family, the group of friends has also an identity confirming function that penetrates the nuclear family. In opposition to the frequent matrifocal tendency on the level of actual behavior — a tendency that causes the man to lose importance with respect to domestic authority — the normative formal cultural values in the everyday contact between men as fathers of homes are reconfirmed on the *chiazza*. This is one of the reasons why one may speak of myth preserving talk on the *chiazza*. A man cut off from his group of friends loses, in a certain sense, his cultural personality.

It must be noted that friendship that precedes the married state is highly charged emotionally. The young men often engage in a great deal of physical contact without the implication of homosexuality. This involvement can also be derived from the homosexual joking that is very common at this age level among friends. The jokes and caricatures about homosexuality are innumerable, and there is a profuse vocabulary with which to provide a protective screen of banter: *finocchiu* (literally, fennel), *frosciu* (homosexual), *toccatu d'oricchia* (touched on his ear), or only the gesture with the finger to the ear, *ammalatu d'oricchia* (sick in his ear), and so on.

4. The Female Friendship and the *Vicinatu*

A phenomenon we discovered only after a longer stay in Sicily in Sutera (1977) is how, in the summer months, the *viddane* (peasant) women, on the long, warm summer evenings, sit together outside and, in their conversation, constantly joke about "dirty sex". These jokes are very frank and not about sex with others but about their own sex lives: about who was on top of whom last night and about what men have to do to have an orgasm. The underlying idea is that sex is something that the woman, although unpleasant, "gives" to her husband only because he wants it. This occasions a particular type of humor with *battute* (jokes)

that are seemingly frightfully insulting for the husbands involved but in which none of the women sees anything wrong.

A male anthropologist, alertly stalking the *chiazza* every day forgetting that there are only women to be seen sitting before the open doors in the streets and not seeing anything special in it, is apt to realize all of a sudden that he has been overlooking something. He has been passing by a female world for weeks at a time, the importance of which he should have been aware given that the segregation of the sexes in Sicily is a fact in important areas. And it is misleading to trust only to the evidence given by Sicilian men. When they are asked what the women do while they are discussing village or world problems with their friends on the *chiazza*, they often answer — and perhaps believe — "nothing special" or "they are busy with household matters" and give a list of banal activities. Accepting this on face value would be anthropologically naive in the extreme.

Of course, in the *vicinatu* other things happen beside joking about men. In a certain sense, the space is smaller there than on the *chiazza*, but its content is richer and more differentiated. Thus, within the *vicinatu*, one can speak of an instrumental, a reflecting, and an identity-confirming function just as much as for the *chiazza*. Moreover, the socio-competitive element that accompanies the social control on the *chiazza* also exists in the *vicinatu*, though to a lesser degree.

However, what the *vicinatu* differs from the *chiazza* in is that all the generations flow together in one group, and so it becomes an efficient socialization space for the young girls. Both girls and older women (*vecchiette* with the status of grandmother) are involved, and generally it is an authoritative older woman who plays the central and active role. This is in contrast to the older men, who occupy a marginal, inactive place on the *chiazza*. This makes the *chiazza* much less a socialization space for the young men than the *vicinatu* is for the young girls. While the girls learn about the complex role of mother and wife in the *vicinatu*, the young men on the *chiazza* are trained rather in competitivity and outer virility but in no way for their later domestic function.

When the married women are together without men in the *vicinatu*, the girls are allowed to be present, while, for example, older women explain, or perhaps even act out, how one or another man can best be handled in the home (in a culturally acceptable manner). The neighborhood is a locus of social satire by which the very concrete sexual behavior of clearly identifiable men is alluded to in their absence. For

many unmarried girls, this life in the neighborhood provides, in addition to that which they learn in the home and from an older woman friend, the only real education they will receive for later family life. But it is often more than a boy will receive.

Like the homosexual joking in the friendship among the young men, there is also an affective erotic coloring apparent in the friendship of the adolescent girls. Cronin has pointed to their "affection, heavily laden with eroticism."[20] Adolescent girls tell how they regularly have lesbian dreams, which are set in serene situations. This, too, is a response to a segregated society in which each group must be self-sufficient.

5. Being Shrewd (*Furberia*)

By means of friendship, both men and women have the opportunity to enhance respect for the family or the extended family while preserving honor. Thus, it is obvious that it is important both for men and for women, each within their own specific interaction fields, the *chiazza* and the *vicinatu*, to know their environment thoroughly and to react competently to it. Of course, it can be tempting for many to reinforce their position. And how can one be more certain than by holding back some cards or by beginning the race with a good head start? This may or may not be correct, but it is admissible. For the struggle is not directed against relatives, and, inversely, it would not be right to take risks involving the interests of these relatives. For the world is divided into relatives and non-relatives, and while the rules of the game are determined by duties (*doviri*) and blood (*sangu*) for the relatives, this is not the case for other people. So it is shrewd (*furbu*) to take advantage of non-relatives. Everyone agrees that this is perfectly permissible with respect to non-friends, who are potential enemies and doubtlessly also reason the same way, but what about the friends? For friendship is a relationship of trust, but still a relationship built on a voluntary basis and not on a blood relationship. And does not trust presume blood?[21]

The friendship that is sacred, which means that one cannot exist without it, does indeed have a weak foundation, but it is still necessary. Therefore, there is an unspoken consensus of the implicitly institutional kind: although this trust relationship rests on a voluntary basis, because of the general interest and because otherwise the entire frienship system would be undermined, most people act loyally within the friendship.

They will take, but they will also give. They will try to increase their own prestige, but they will do so in a way that does not cause the friend to lose prestige. Frienship respects the equilibrium, and who acts correctly is a good friend and an "man of trust" (*omu di fiducia*).

Still, for some, the temptation can be great to extend to the friend what would be normal for the unknown non-relative, i.e., the striving for one's own (family) advantage to the disadvantage of the other. Who acts in this way is a *furbu*. Among male friends, one keeps in mind that each friend with whom one is on *passiggiata* (walking with) can, in principle, be a *furbu*. This leads to a certain distrust, also among friends. Nevertheless, il would rarely be said of a friend that he is a *furbu*. Whoever has acquired this epithet will be approached ambivalently. He is feared in a certain sense, although there is some admiration involved because, in any case, he is not a *fessu* (a fool, and that is bad). "It is not surprising that many people feel ambivalent about *furberia*. Most people most of the time are neither *furbo* nor *fesso*, but when the chips are down most would rather be *furbo* than taken for *fesso*, that is, taken for a fool; this is as true of women as it is of men."[22] The *furbu* is shrewd, the *fessu* is foolish. Now in Sicily, it is easier to be a fool than an outsider might expect. Indeed, the primary element in the description of a fool is that he is too good-hearted (*troppu bonu*, too good).

The shrewd person knows his environment thoroughly, and he knows how to do things, he knows how to exploit his environment (*sa fari, sa sfruttari chistu ambienti*). Concretely, he is someone who seems to succeed in seducing many women, thus increasing his honor at the cost of that of the others. He succeeds in getting the company of friends who increase his social prestige, while these friends instead lose prestige by it. He may know how to increase the prosperity of his nuclear family, only it too often happens at the cost of the friends with whom he does business. Socially, he earns a certain amount of praise, but the praise is ambivalent. One is on guard with him, for one knows that he is not loyal and acts exclusively in function of his own interests. He is shrewd, too shrewd. He continually upsets the equilibrium between the "giving" and the "taking". He works continually on the building up of his own respect, but he does this at the cost of the respect of the friend, who by the action of the shrewd person is made a fool. And the latter in particular is intolerable for the majority because it undermines, if it were generalized, the entire friendship system. Careful people, the majority, try to avoid and particularly not to antagonize the shrewd ones.

However, one may not confuse the shrewd person with a *prepotenti* (one who is bossy and arrogant), who is roundly condemned and who is avoided even more. The *prepotenti* ignores just as much the interests of the other, but he can do it not by virtue of his shrewdness but by virtue of his greater real power. If necessary, he does not shrink from dangerous violence.

The term *furberia* is also used for women. The field of application, of course, is somewhat different, and this gives the female *furberia* its own color. It concerns extra-domestic activities that she takes over from her husband and the life in the neighborhood. Being shrewd for her is the capacity to increase the prosperity and the prestige of the family by means of hidden manipulations and keen sensitivity for future developments in the neighborhood, between the families, and in the village, without compromising the prestige of her husband. A husband is proud if he can call his wife shrewd, because this always implies that she, in spite of her shrewdness, still remains modest with respect to her husband, and it is to *his* merit that this shrewd woman manages his family's affairs.

It is with scarcely concealed pride that Sicilian parents tell visitors that their son is shrewd, as though they recognize in this child qualities they can and may not ascribe to themselves. Above all, however, it is a particular comfort to them that their son will not be later taken in the *paisi* as a fool.

6. Patronage and Clientelism

A great deal different from the friendship is the patron and client system. While the friendship, both male and female, is built partially on symmetrical relationships, which assume that people in principle consider and treat each other as equals, this is not at all the case with the patron and client system. This system assumes a patron or boss — Sicilians speak of a *pezzu grossu* (a heavy piece) — and his clients. Such a *pezzu grossu* is called *pezzu da novanta* if he is very powerful or an *intoccabile* (who may not be touched), but then he is already more of a mafia character. And, in our opinion, patronage and mafia should be distinguished, even though they do sometimes merge in the Sicilian reality. We would add, too, that the patron and client system is exclusively a male affair, which is not the case with friendship, though it be segregated.

"Patronage is founded on the reciprocal relations between patrons and clients. By patron I mean a person who uses his influence to assist and protect some other person, who then becomes his 'client', and in turn provides certain services to his patron. The relationship is asymmetrical, for the nature of the services exchanged may differ considerably."[23] With the patron, a reasoned and systematic power structure is built up by means of client acquisition. With the mafia, which we will discuss below, physical violence is expressly applied as the essential means to accumulate power.

For the Sicilian, the entry into a patronage system is something about which he is rather ambiguous. For he loses a part of his autonomy, but then he increases his capacity to challenge (respect) because he is part of an institution that gives him more power with respect to third parties. The socially powerful patron, it is true, does not create a zone of quasi-relatives as happens with the friendship (the friend is called a "dear brother", *caru fratellu*), but he presents in an unsafe dimension his "friendly" protective power (the patron calls the client a "dear friend", *caru amicu*, though from a position of superiority) that is terrifying but also comforting, because it is identifiable. When a patron considers someone a client, then the client knows he is protected against other powers of society that are unsafe for him if the patron is powerful enough, i.e., more powerful than the other powers. Therefore, the client has every interest in his patron becoming as powerful as possible and in other patrons becoming less powerful.

A client will never say a bad word about his patron and work diligently to enhance his reputation, even by damaging the prestige of his rivals. For the stronger the patron becomes, the better he will be able to protect his client. Clients, therefore, speak of their patron with high praise, even if the patron has died or has more the character of a mafioso.

Not every patron is more or less a mafioso. But he is almost always a political figure or someone with power in the political arena. The most subtle, the most refined webs in the patronage system are on the political level, and particularly in the higher political classes. Who is a successful politician? Certainly not the one who has the clearest or the best program. It is rather a question of promises and favors, of "appearances" — and it is all very vague. The skilled politician is consistent in this. He is a *furbu*, without being labeled as such. He seems instead naive, winningly naive, and *spregiudicatu*, i.e., he is not concerned about the others at all — but this certainly is not revealed in his words. In essence,

he is not at all interested in his work or in the welfare of his clients. But who would dare suppose that, let alone say it? He consistently plays the tune of many promises and rarely realized solutions, and thus conjures the maximum number of clients. He is an esthete of power for power's sake.

If we examine these elements from the standpoint of an ordinary Sicilian family man, then we see how the following steps can be taken in the building of his respect if he does not want to remain passive. He can execute three kinds of manoeuvers: depend on his relatives, enter into the symmetrical friendship system, or take the route of asymmetrical patronage. This involves relatives, friends or friends of friends, and a *pezzu grossu*. These relational, symmetrical, and asymmetrical bonds are mutually convertible at any moment in the striving for a job recommendation. There is no set sequence. The most obvious factor at stake in all of this is employment for himself or for his son. What is striking is that the demand at the end of the chain and whatever the last link might be has just as much affective warmth and power as when it was first forged, depending not on what is at stake but on the importance of the people involved in the process.

Patronage, clientelism, recommendations, and politics. "*Chi ha dinaru ed amicizia va nel culu della giustizia*", the Sicilians contend, a bowlderized translation being "who has money and friends is master of justice". It is a system that tends fundamentally to immobility, or, to express it in a subtle Sicilian manner with the words of the young and ambitious Tancredi in *Il Gattopardo*: "*se vogliamo che tutto rimanga come è, bisogna che tutto cambi*":[24] "If we want everything to stay as it is, everything has to change." One has to work hard to stay socially and economically immobile.

7. The Mafia

With the mafia we touch on a phenomenon that, in the extension of patronage, has both cultural and historical roots and that, under the form of the new mafia, a criminal parasitic growth adapted to modern times, reaches far beyond Sicily. We shall limit ourselves here to the more readily observable local Sicilian mafia of the old type.

The mafia emerged in the 19th and 20th centuries where the modern state was implanted in a marginal peasant society that was fundamentally

still of a feudal nature. Anton Blok describes it as follows: "*Mafiosi*... exploit the gaps in communication between the peasant village and the larger society rather than closing or destroying them; they thrive upon these interstices and prevent others from making their own connections. Second, mafiosi ensure and buttress their immediate position through the systematic threat and practice of physical violence."[25] The Sicilian mafioso "is a broker of a violent type".[26] Blok goes on to describe the origin of the phenomenon: "Even after the Unification of Italy, the State failed to monopolize the use of physical force in large areas of western Sicily and, therefore, could not hope to enforce legislation. It is only in this context that the origin and development of mafia can be understood. Mafia was born of the tensions between the central government and local landowners on the one hand, and between the latter and peasants on the other."[27]

A mafioso of the old type controls, if necessary and almost always with violence, the relationships between the *viddani* (peasants) in the rural areas and the local *gabillottu* (vassal) and/or the liege lord in the city. With his friends, he forms an exclusively male *cosca,* which is in competition with other cells for power. At the head of the cell is a godfather (*padrinu*), who can generally occupy the position of "boss" for some time before he is "executed" by a rival cell, perhaps with the help of someone of his own cell.

By the "old mafia" is meant the former rural mafia, which has become as good as extinct with the languishing of agriculture and the rural land reform. Since several good studies have appeared on this matter, there is no need to go into this matter in detail here.[28] Rather, we will limit ourselves to noting some elements of mafia activity as we encountered it during our field work in the *paisi*. These activities could in no way be confused with ordinary criminality. We note, too, that the Province of Caltanissetta is not the best area for a study of the mafia, not even of the old mafia, the Province of Palermo or the city of Catania being a much more fertile ground for this purpose.

During the period of our field work, the Province of Caltanissetta was shaken by two series of incidents of a mafia-like nature. The first series took place in Mussomeli, the former *paisi* of Don Peppe Genco Russo, the successor of Don Calù Vizzini of Villalba, who was a famous mafia don of the post-World War II period. Both men had been dead for a number of years by the time we did our field work. In 1975, Mussomeli was under the control of mafioso Don Vincenzo Noto, a political friend

of the Honorable V., the provincial boss of the Christian Democrats, about whom it is accepted that he was "formed" by Don Calù Vizzini at the beginning of his political career (V., a then unknown general practitioner, met Vizzini in his practice in Villalba).

In the summer of 1975, it was revealed that the *cassa rurale* San Giuseppe in Mussomeli had been defrauded of 4 billion lire. It was an annoying case, but there did not seem at first to have been any violence involved. However, some events of a few years previously were recalled. A priest, a member of the board of directors, of which Vincenzo Noto, an attorney, was the chairman, had "fallen" from a train in a tunnel after having threatened to make some abuses public. It was said that the priest had opened the wrong door. But was not his body found at a place where it could hardly have fallen if the version of the accidently opened door were correct? The priest was an alcoholic under treatment, was the answer, and he was also a very good friend of Noto and his wife, who was a doctor. Why should there be any insinuations of foul play?

But not three years before there had been a case concerning the secretary of the local Christian Democrat organization. On 26 December 1972 he suffered severe injuries. He said that he had fallen while pushing his automobile in front of the house of the mayor and attorney, Vincenzo Noto.

On 14 August 1975, Noto was forced to resign as chairman of the bank, and he was arrested on 23 September. The two cases of violence were revived by the North-Italian investigating judge on 23 April 1976, but the priest who had fallen out of the train could, of course, no longer testify, and the former secretary of the local Christian Democrat organization stuck to his statement of four years previously.

Shortly after the revelation of the bank fraud, we had occasion to visit a prominent person (*notabele*) in Caltanissetta city, a relative of the director of the rival local bank in Mussomeli, who was also the head of the rival faction in the Christian Democrats. We had met this relative by chance on another occasion and visited him now and then. When our host, who was very much preoccupied by the affair, wanted to telephone his relative, a politician-bank director in Mussomeli, he repeatedly was connected to a voice that said: "*Pronto, l'Onorevole V.*", V. being the patron of the majority faction to which Noto also belonged. When the *carabinieri* investigated the matter later in the day, they reported that "apparently an error was made in the repair work in the telephone exchange so that a wrong connection was made." But the message was

clear. The majority group, which had temporarily been forced on the defensive, was still in control of the situation.

Another series of events took place in Riesi between 1976 and 1978.

Giuseppe Di Cristina, a son of Francesco Di Cristina, an *intoccabile*, was pronounced innocent of the murder of a Palermian and was rehired in 1976 as an employee in the drastically cut back Trabia Tallarita mine near Riesi in the service of the *Ente Minerario Siciliano*. In the same period, but possibly unrelated to it, there followed a period of vandalism in vineyards. A 7-year old child, a relative of the Gangitanos, was kidnapped and released a few hours later (the Gangitano family runs a bar in Riesi and secondhand-car business between North Italy and Sicily). In Riesi itself, a few cases of arson were committed. The automobile of the commandant of the *carabinieri* in front of the headquarters of the gendarmerie, the house of the vice-pretor, and a few of the larger local stores were damaged by fire. The Riesini recognized these events as clear mafia signals. At the end of 1976 and the beginning of 1977, two remarkable thefts were committed in the headquarters of the gendarmerie. In one, weapons were stolen, some of which were found later in a field belonging to the Gangitanos. The Gangitanos were exonerated of the theft because of the lack of evidence. A short time later, a theft occurred in the home of the police commandant.

The series was interrupted in the form of a number of bank robberies in the center of the *paisi*, it not being clear whether they had anything to do with the previous incidents, which, in their turn, were not necessarily related to each other. In the midst of this series of bank robberies and presumably more associated with mafia-type actions, an attempt was made on 22 August 1977 at 9:30 p.m. to "execute" three Gangitano brothers in their bar. Giuseppe (33 years old) and Vincenzo (34 years old) were killed. Salvatore (28 years old) was wounded but did not die. To the investigating judges he only said: "*Non sacciu nienti, non li haiu visti, non haiu nemmenu idea di chi puzzonu esseri*" (I know nothing, I didn't see them, I have no idea who they could be). He stuck by this statement. The bystanders also could tell nothing. In the traditional *omertà* style: "*Nienti sacciu, nienti vitti, nienti vogghiu sapiri*": "I know nothing, I saw nothing, I want to know nothing."[29]

On 14 November 1977, two *furasteri* (non-Riesini) were shot at and wounded near the Gangitano home. Salvatore and Pietro Gangitano were then questioned, but they knew nothing of what had happened, and the two *furasteri* claimed that they did not even know the Gangitanos. From

a *paisi* 50 km from there, they had just happened to go for a walk on an evening in Riesi, and, strangely enough, just happened to be in the immediate vicinity of the Gangitano home. For most Riesini, however, it was obvious that the one who sent the murderers on 22 August knew that he had made a grave error by not "executing" Salvatore, who was still alive and who knew who was after him.

On 21 November 1977, the car with two employees of the *Ente Minerario Siciliano* was forced off the road 4 km outside of Riesi, and the employees were shot. Normally, Giuseppe Di Cristina would also have been with them, but it happened that that day he was not there. Giuseppe Di Cristina, however, could no longer doubt that he was targeted for murder.

On 30 May 1978, Giuseppe Di Cristina, a friend of *mafiusu* Salvatore Inzerillo of Palermo and of another *mafiusu* boss Stefano Bontate, and, according to the old rural mafia traditions, local *intoccabile* in Riesi, son of Francesco Di Cristina, whose recommendation was still critical in the mid-seventies for obtaining a job in the Riesi area, was murdered in Palermo. In the eyes of his friends, he was killed by the "corleonesi", a *cosca* under the direction of Luciano Liggio. The position of the "corleonesi", as stated by Michelo Greco for the Palermo mafia *Comissione*, was that Di Cristina was killed because he had talked to the police.

It is abundantly clear that this entire series were mafia actions, which might or might not have been interrelated, with some doubt about the bank robberies. The *omertà* surrounding them and the excess number of "executions" prevent, as is usual with mafia crimes, the truth from coming to light, particularly when the courts do not take all the facts together but investigate each incident separately. Serious efforts to bring all these separate crimes together were only made in the 1980s.

The Province of Caltanissetta is certainly not the province where the mafia is the strongest. Thus, rather than providing here a review of the literature on the subject, we have sketched the two best known series of mafia events that occurred in the 1970s in the province as they appeared to the observant outsider. In the mid-eighties Caltanissetta City still has some two *mafiusi*.

By way of conclusion, let us consider some cultural aspects of the "old" mafia as an institution. It is striking that it involves the physical removal of men, never of women or children. According to some, the *omertà* indicates a quality of a man who is "a man", an *omu*. According to others, it is rather a form of *umiltà* (humility). However that may be,

there is the form of a group of male friends, the cell, which institutionalizes the step from friendship to family by imposing a blood bond upon itself. It concerns an "honorable" company with a godfather at the head. The escalation that is represented by the new mafia with respect to the old mafia, however, also implies that these cultural characteristics take on considerably less importance than the more "efficient" ordinary criminal characteristics.

8. Bewitchment

While the mafia embodies in Sicily the unsafe, the dangerous, on the male side, so does magic and bewitchment embody it on the female side. While the modern state has not succeeded in rooting out the mafia, the modernization of the social life has largely succeeded in restricting the complex of magic and bewitchment. Nevertheless, remnants of that complex are still used, and primarily, though not exclusively, in the female, popular world view in which almost always an older woman (*strega,* witch) is considered or supposed to be the actress.

When does bewitching, or the magical in the broader sense, occur in such a world view? Most obviously in the great crisis moments in the life of an individual: pregnancy, birth, marriage, death. Interfamily relationships are not immune from it.

Of particular significance are the evil eye (*malocchiu*) and bewitchment (*fattura*). The evil eye is most feared immediately after the birth of a child (or already during pregnancy), and is a malign influence that affects the baby physically or mentally through the action of a jealous woman, with or without her conscious will. Sometimes a handicap of a child is explained in this way in later years, so the woman can prevent herself from being accused of having been negligent during pregnancy. *Malocchiu* can also be cited for other, more minor negative incidents. In the case of the *fattura* (*d'amuri, di disamuri,* or *a morte*), forces are involved that are proper to particular substances, generally "known" or "possessed" by particular women (*streghe*), with which another person can be affected in the form of a binding or an influence of the will. In fact, there is no relationship, except metonymic, between the techniques used and the results intended. Thus, one can use menstrual blood of a girl (with the *fattura d'amuri*), dried and pulverized excrement of a boy (with the *fattura di disamuri*), or clothing of a person one wants to affect

(with the *fattura a morte*). Other, classic ingredients added to reinforce the magical context are hair from the armpits, pubic hair, and fingernails. These are small elements that grow parasitically on the skin or are from taboo zones, which resonate with less conscious cultural overtones. They are added to elements (menstrual blood, dried excreta, clothing) that physically belong to the person involved or targeted. The menstrual blood of the girl drunk by the boy (added in a glass of wine, for example) is considered to bind the boy to the girl. The small amount of pulverized excreta of the boy ingested by the girl (added to a cup of coffee, for example) is considered to dissolve the bond. With the rotting in the ground of an article of a person's clothing buried with the necessary magical ingredients, that person is expected to sicken and die.

The role that is played by the mafia, the violent, the dangerous in the male world view is played by magic and bewitchment in the female world. Both are to be avoided and are rejected by the society, but both can occur when the individuals involved in their struggle with the rival conclude that there is no other solution.

In the case of bewitchment, who are these special women? Generally, these are women who have lost their "sexual appearance". Where the sexual appearance of the woman is, as it were, the mirror of her inner purity and security, the reverse anti-female physionomy of the older woman with male traits can be seen as dangerous and as a source of impurity and insecurity, certainly when this old woman acts asocially. Such a woman can then be seen as a *fattucchiera* or a *strega* by the *paisi*[30]

9. Religion and Death

a. Religion

As do Eugeen Roosens and Karl Erik Rosengren,[31] we distinguish between religion and magic. The insights, rites, practices, thoughts and/or acts, and the objects that are centered around the immanent (that is, this-worldly) relatively extra-human belong to magic and were discussed in the preceding section. In religion, what is involved is the transcendent (i.e., the other-worldly) relatively extra-human. We add immediately that we further distinguish religion as a system and as symbolism from faith as an attitude and an act, although we realize that it

is much more complex in practice. In this anthropological context, we will not discuss faith, which belongs to the area of the subject's experience of existential freedom, anxiety, and guilt.

By religion in Sicily, we mean popular Catholicism. We distinguish this from the theologically purged Christian faith, which occurs in Sicily as elsewhere in the Christian world. Nor will we discuss a number of smaller religions, such as the community of the *Valdesi* in Riesi and the communities of Jehovah's Witnesses and Pentecostals, which communities are not rare in Sicily.

Popular Catholicism in Sicily as a cultural system obviously has a double function. On the one hand, it provides for a sacralization of the existing cultural order, and, on the other hand, it provides a recurrent outlet and counterweight for a number of fundamental tensions and dangers that are inherent in the current cultural system and social life.

Although religion is a fundamental concern for the family, and thus also for the husband, it is largely reduced to the area and the concern of the wife. Moreover, the Sicilian man seems to have a rather ambiguous relationship with respect to personalized religion such as Catholicism, which is far from the nature religions. This is particularly striking in his relationship to the adult Jesus figure. It is easier for him to speak about the *bambinu Gesù* (the baby Jesus) or the Madonna, but the concrete relationship to them is more a concern of his wife.

What do we mean by the ambiguous relationship towards the adult *omu* Jesus?

Typical is the following (unpublished) folk song, the "lament of the peasant", which we heard in Sutera. The first verse goes as follows:

Lamentu di lu Viddanu
Un servu tempu fa 'ni chissa chiazza
accussi' priava a Cristu e ci diciva:
"Signuri, lu ma patruni mi strapazza,
mi tratta cummu un cani di la via,
tuttu si piglia cu la so manazza;
la vita dici ca mancu è di mia.
Si ia mi lagnu, cchiù piu amminazza,
ferru di castia e prigiunia.
O Diu, vi priu, chissa mala razza
distruggitila vui, Cristu, pi mia."
"E tu forsi chi l'ha ciunchi li vrazza

oppuru l'ha 'nchiuvati cumu a mia;
cu voli la giustizia si la fazza
o speri c'antru la fazza pi tia.
Si tu si omu e nun si testa pazza,
mitti a profittu sta sentenza mia:
iu nun salia supra esta cruciazza
s'avissi fattu quantu dicu a tia.''

A literal translation:

Lament of the Peasant.
Once a servant on this village square
Prayed to Christ and said to him:
"Lord, my patron treats me badly, as he likes,
He treats me like a stray dog,
His big hand takes everything for himself,
And even my life he tells me is not my own.
If I complain, then he threatens me still more,
With the iron of castigation and with prison.
O God, I pray you, this evil race,
Destroy it for me, O Christ''.
"And you, what is it? Is your arm sick from the pain
Or is it nailed fast like mine?
Who would have justice, obtains it himself;
Or do you hope that someone will do your work for you?
If you are a man and do not have a head full of foolishness,
Take my advice to your profit:
I would never have mounted this cross,
If I had done what I am now telling you to do.''

In this folk song, the Sicilian man blames his religion for bringing the message it brings. One folk song is, of course, not enough to support a thesis, but the thesis certainly does not conflict with the entire complex of "official" honor enhancement with which the man is continuously engaged, with, in the background, the climate of almost forced egalitarianism that is typical for a traditional "culture of poverty". It is striking, too, that the male group in Caltanissetta city is only truly pious and involved on the occasion of one procession in the year, that is, the procession of the suffering Jesus on Good Friday, a procession, more-

over, that witnesses exceptional sobriety according to Sicilian notions. It is the procession — the "feast" where, for one time in the year, the normal social roles can be reversed — in which the personalized God appears as the loser, which generates sympathy from the vast majority of the people, who intimately experience themselves, in spite of appearances, as "losers" or "underdogs" throughout the entire year. On other occasions, it is much more difficult for the Sicilian male to sympathize with the concrete, personalized official religion, a religion that generates aggression in him.

The non-religious in the man goes hand in hand with the stress on destiny in life, the fate that is simultaneously chance and necessity. This destiny rules human existence, but it still cannot be set equivalent with God or his saints. There is also a fascination with the world of dreams and their interpretation. One can try to interfere by means of good influences, although they are not supreme but only "averting" or "protective". Here is situated the particularly utilitarian, almost commercial relationship of the man with a *santu-patruni*. *Supra lu re, c'è lu vice-re,* above the king stands the vice-king, reasons the pure patron-client logic, it being left unstated whether the *re* (king) is *Diu* (God) or *lu destinu* (fate).

Older women (*vecchiette*) attach a great deal of importance to fate, which they think they can discern from dreams. However, from the female point of view, this destiny is framed and cast in a qualitatively richer and more extensive religious symbolic system.

Actually, the religion, the popular Catholicism of Sicily, as it is experienced, is more matrifocal than Jesus oriented. The Madonna stands in the center of the veneration: she is simultaneously virgin and the mother of a son. The confluence of these two major cultural values, purity and the procreation of a son, leads to the veneration of Mary as the *bedda matri,* the beautiful mother. "Along with being worshipped as the mother of Jesus, *la Madonna* is held in high esteem because she achieved motherhood without renouncing her virginity."[32] It is primarily the mother, the housewife, who maintains this religious relationship for her family, thus "religiously protecting" the entire family.

Since this matrifocal religion is a matter of honor for the family, it is also the same thing for the *paisi*. In its turn, the village feast sacralizes the great family and social values.

During our stay in Sicily, we were often struck by how well the Catholic Church succeeded in employing the fundamental concepts of

the cultural code and in impressing them on the faithful in the various sacramental celebrations and particularly in the preaching at the feast of the village patron saint or of the Madonna. We recorded the homily of the pastor of the *matrici* (the main church on the *chiazza*) in Riesi on Sunday, 12 September 1976, the feast of the local *Madonna della Catena*. The sermon was given on the *chiazza* after the procession. The pastor first addressed the Madonna herself: "Madonna, where do you come from? From Palermo? Is your home in Palermo? No. Are you from Acicatena? No. But where do you come from? Are you a Riesina? Is this procession of the people here in Riesi meant for you?... I am Riesina! I am the mamma of Riesi! And why do all these people from Riesi and these many from Sommatino and Mazzarino come here?... Because they are moved by the qualities of our mamma from Riesi... How are you then?... I am a mamma, the way a mamma should be, entirely for her children, for whom she offers herself totally without looking for pleasure for herself. Not like some today, girls who have broken loose, who seek their personal freedom and their own pleasure above everything else." And so on.

Religious village feasts are not limited to feasts for the Madonna, *bedda matri*, although they stand in very high esteem. There are also feasts for one or another important *santu* of the *paisi*. Such feasts generally result in the interfamily tensions and competition for honor being put aside for the time being and the egalitarian aspects of village life being brought to the fore. On such occasions, the *chiazza* loses its normal order. As many women as men wander around, and children play among the milling adults. It seems to be one great confusion. But this is only the appearance, because the egalitarian framework in which all *paisani* (villagers) are moving clearly expresses another important aspect of the social code of the Sicilian *paisi*. Everybody participates on such an occasion so that the village, if the *paisani* ask it, can count on the protection of the patron saint.

On the occasion of a celebration on the *chiazza*, the site of friendship and competition, the great village religious feasts give sharp ideological identification to the nuclear family — around the inclusive symbol of the *mamma-bedda matri* — and to patronage as the pillars of the Sicilian socio-cultural community in the *paisi*. This is why these feasts are so enduring.

The celebrations on Good Friday deserve special mention. They are by far the most sober of the feasts of the entire year and of Holy Week

itself. We have already mentioned the restrained attitude of the men with respect to the de-divinized Jesus. If a cultural element is involved, then it is in a place like Riesi where the mutual visiting of mother (Mary) and son (Jesus) is acted out on Good Friday. Their respective statues are carried through the village by the men in search for one another until they meet in the presence of the entire *paisi* and are then carried together to the *matrici*.

In addition to sacralizing, the religion also offers elements of completion and outlet, of temporary dismantling both of separations and of tensions.

In the ecclesiastical sacraments of baptism, confirmation, and marriage, one can see cultural celebrations of the great cultural transitional moments in the life of the family and the society, but it is also true that they constitute the only three moments in which it is possible for a non-member of the family to be institutionalized by *cumparatu* to become quasi-kin, i.e., by momentarily dissolving the separation between family and non-family to invite or induce other friends that one wishes to bring closer to one's own relationship group in a definitive manner. The same raising of the family barriers occurs on the occasion of the village feasts in honor of a *santu,* but then for a strictly limited period of time. When the size of the village permits, such as in Sutera at the feast of St Francis, the attempt is made to organize a common meal at midday where all of the families come together and eat under the watchful eye of the *santu* in an open field (just next to the cemetery). And in the evening on the *chiazza* of the Giardinello Quarter, the men dance the tarantella like brothers together under the tower of the *matrici* in shared euphoria.

While the feasts are ritual moments of bridging the structurally built-in tensions, a *paisi* also needs a number of continuous and more individualized bridging figures who can help calm the tensions between families. This function cannot be performed by men, who have to favor their own nuclear families in all cases and who are the representatives of competitivity *par excellence,* or by women who are still sexually approachable and compromisable, because they may not transgress the rules of modesty. But some tasks can be performed by women who are older than 60 and who have shown a certain proficiency in the past and are accepted as such by the village community or the neighborhood. They can be privileged informants, social experts, in the service of a family that, in view of the engagement of a son or daughter, want to be apprised of the honor and the prestige of another family. They can even

be *sensali* (go-betweens in marriage and land cases), particularly in the searching for a suitable girl for a boy. They can even mediate when two families are not speaking to each other, and a solution of the conflict of disrespect is, in principle, still possible. Generally, these old women are very religious, and go to church every day if possible. Generally, too, one can meet them in the faithful circle of old women who participate in as many religious activities as possible (rosaries, sermons, etc.) organized by the pastor. This protects them from acquiring an asocial image and thus the danger of being categorized as a witch (*strega*). Their public religiosity protects them and increases their moral prestige unless it is carried to excess.

A pastor can also be such a bridging figure and can mediate in specific problems such as family quarrels or *fuiutine*. The experienced pastor, however, knows that he has to be extremely careful of his asexual image and that he must act very moderately with his involvement in a home, lest he rouse the suspicion of *la gente* (the general public, who exercise unmerciful supervision over the cultural code and thus over the culturally determined behavior of men and women).

There is one religious celebration that we have not yet mentioned. That is the burial rite, which concerns the ultimate threat to both the individual and the family unit: death.

b. Death

Almost always, a death is something that is felt in the entire quarter. After a death, the close relatives, the *dolenti* (the mourners, spouse, children, brothers, and sisters) watch for 24 hours by the death bed. In some places, like Riesi, the *dolenti* do not sleep as long as the corpse is in the house, it being encoffined and buried rather quickly in view of the hot climate. Before the body is placed in the coffin, the close relatives kiss it on the forehead or the hand. In fact, this is done at every visit, at which the qualities and the last moments of life are regularly recalled for the visitor. In the evening before the funeral, the men carry the deceased to the church. After the service in the church, the deceased is brought to the cemetery. The relatives follow and greet there the immediate family. Then the *dolenti* remain for three days in the house of the deceased. Food is not prepared but brought by friends and relatives. On the third day, *lu visitu* takes place. In the course of the day, all of the relatives come by and also the friends and the acquaintances. Everyone asks how the death

occurred, and the close relatives tell each time to the smallest detail what the deceased thought, did, felt, said or did not say, up until the last moments. Every time the emotions are re-experienced and those present mourn with them. Sometimes the *dolenti* stay another week at the house of the deceased after the burial. They sit in a circle on stools, dressed in black, unwashed and unshaven, doing nothing.

On the front door, a brief death notice is hung up "*per il mio caro figlio*", "*per mia mamma*", etc. It stays there until, bleached by the sun, it blows away.

A woman is careful for the first few days when she is in mourning, and she will not pick up a young child and certainly not a baby. For her husband, she wears mourning for at least nine years, and sometimes her entire life. For a father-in-law, two years. For his wife, a man is in mourning for four years. For a child, a mother will wear black for three to five years. In a village like Riesi, however, a mother will wear black for her entire life for a deceased son if he did not die as a young child. Some women are in mourning from about their 30th year for the rest of their lives. There is always a mother, a father, a brother, a sister, or a child to mourn. For the first few weeks, she brings flowers every day to the cemetery, then every week, and finally every month. In the cemetery, there is a constant coming and going of *paisani*, particularly women.

Death, the last danger — for men a matter of destiny, for the women God's will — is always visually present in the *paisi*. There is the place that the cemetery receives in social life, and everywhere memorials are hung for one or another deceased family member. The religious ritual itself, nevertheless, is clearly more marginal than at other transition moments in life, certainly in view of the place that death occupies in the family and the *paisi*. But, actually, this is not so surprising. As the Sicilian man looks ambiguously at his personalized religion, so is it with regard to death and the possibility of an afterlife. Is this all not simply a question of destiny?

Life is a cyclic rise and decline, a being born and dying, as nature presents it to us. The rise and decline of human life is taken up in the dominating cycle of nature, where death may occur by accident. The former rural life remains latently present in the culture and still determines the rhythm of coming and going, unconsciously, collectively. The rhythm of the former rural life can also be noted in another area, namely in the frequency of marriages through the year.

The marriage registers of the Church of Santa Croce (Badia) list 348 marriages for the period from 1 September 1965 to 30 August 1975. The monthly averages for this decade are as follows: January, 1.8; February, 1.7; March, 1.8; April, 4.3; May, 0.2; June, 3.2; July, 4.6; August, 1.4; September, 6.1; October, 4.5; November, 1.5; December, 3.7. There are three dips in the curve: May[33], August, and November. May and August used to be the months in which the harvest was exhausted, and November is the "month of death". If marriages do take place in these months, it is often with emigrants. Without knowing why, the young couples adapt themselves to the rhythms of nature that dominated their culture in the past.

Chapter 4
The Cultural Gestalt of a Sicilian *Paisi* and Socialization

In the mapping of the structural-geographical gestalt of a Sicilian *paisi*, we will attempt to establish a ground plan on the basis of key themes of the cultural code. This ground plan must be of such a nature that it reflects an implicit consensus among the *paisani*, even if they themselves do not recognize its systematic character.

In view of the unidimensional and static nature of such a ground plan, various domains are combined in one figure per level (e.g., the moral, sexual, material, and spiritual), and the normative and the factual are not separated from each other. There are advantages and disadvantages to this. Although derived from a geographical setting, the ground plan can be assigned an ideal structural character. It becomes a gestalt. This can be very useful when socio-cultural changes are to be studied, such as those that occur with migration. It permits the precise indication of what complex changes occur by, for example, noting what the *vicinatu* or the *chiazza* become in the migration.

The gestalt, however, is not unidimensional. The content, in our case with a gradation of pure-safe to impure-unsafe, is always accompanied by a formal structure, which can be placed in turn on a continuum, this time by means of the gradation from symmetrical to asymmetrical relationships existing between the actors on the subfield of the gestalt.

Finally, the gestalt can also contribute to a dynamic reading of the socio-cultural events in the *paisi*. The developments that determine the life of an individual in the *paisi* can be clarified in function of the place that this individual occupies on the subfields in the various stages of his life. A number of important socialization practices are also discussed.

When the *paisi* is divided structurally-geographically and the findings of the last chapter grouped as much as possible per sector, the diagram of Figure 2 results.

Figure 2

1. The *Chiazza*, the *Amici*, and the *Paisani*: Challenge as Culture

The *chiazza* is the core of social life for Sicilian men as a group on their side of the segregation line. For the women, the core is not social but familial, and specifically the nuclear family, and their social life is lived on their side of the segregation line in the *vicinatu*. The *chiazza* and the *vicinatu*, both loci of friendship, actualize the segregation. The *famigghia allargata*, as the extension of the nuclear family, is an older structure that is currently in crisis.

In a segregated manner, however, both the *chiazza* and the *vicinatu* reveal, in what they have in common, the formal interaction between families and the relationship of the individual to the *paisi*. What is the heartbeat of the interfamilial village relationships?

It is the task of the adult male to act in such a way on the *chiazza* that he — and thus also his family — is more than the other in order that he certainly is no less than the other and, if possible, to be equal to the other. But he cannot thereby aspire to become a *prepotenti* (one who is bossy and arrogant). His wife is also occupied with this task in te *vicinatu*, albeit in not such an obvious manner and she, too, may not go too far. This rule is given its clearest expression on the *chiazza* among the men. And it is remarkable in concrete child-raising strategies, that children, and particularly boys, are raised from young on to have such challenging behavior to the point that Joris, who studied the raising of small children in Sicily, could devote an article to "challenge as child-raising".[1]

On the *chiazza*, where all active men of the *paisi* are expected to go in the course of the evening, the social *paisi* life is characterized by continuous polarization and competition with an egalitarian ideal in the background, the extreme consequences being distrust and aggressivity. Typical for such a society is the competitive-comparative and also sometimes implicitly aggressive manner in which sexuality is spoken about in public. On the *chiazza*, there is a lot of joking about *la minchia* (the penis), and value judgments about an absent individual are readily formulated in terms of it. For example, someone who is considered useless and insignificant is called *'na minchia china d'acqua*, a penis full of water instead of sperm. Still, there can also be a sincere desire for information on the subject. Thus *amici* on the *chiazza* would ask repeatedly when discussing a common Sicilian acquaintance in Belgium,

Assunta Bellavia, who had married a Moroccan, how it was physically possible for her to marry him. Don't Moroccans have a *minchia* that is much too long?[2]

In this light, the great deal of talk about sex among the young men and about relationships among married men is always done with comparisons in mind, with both egalitarian and competitive elements. In order to be equal, I must strive to be more than the other. In the same context, there must be a complementarity, whereby one is seen in the service of the other. It is this competition against an egalitarian background that often takes the form of a grim mutual challenge (honor and respect). Honor is then the challenge that one issues oneself or that one endures passively from another. It is primarily concerned with the "interior" and with "purity" with the focus mostly on the domestic zone. With respect, the attention is oriented to the competitively social egalitarian. Honor is more condensed in its contents and comprises all components at one: exclusive possession of the female, irreproachability, security, whereby one component also immediately refers to all the others. Respect is less condensed and does not refer immediately to the realm of domestic purity. It can thus also be more easily affected by all sorts of disrespect.

The *chiazza* is thus clearly a space where asymmetry is aimed at. Between *amici* of different groups an asymmetric reciprocity develops in the form of relations of rivalry and competition. *Chiazza* members implicitly challenge each other to competitively ostentatious behavior in a mastery of amusement, elegant appearance (gestural, clothing, and wanting to be seen), and in verbal facility and in shrewdness. Apart from the ostentatious wedding feast, the *chiazza* is the only "officially" limited space within wich such relations are so strongly given form and are tolerated.

At the same time, however, the *chiazza* also aims for symmetrical reciprocity. The physical intimacy of the *amici* of the same group develops (physical nearness, eating, drinking, horseplay, collective behavior with somewhat of an erotic undertone) an inviting, communicating, horizontal and symmetrical dimension in the interaction. Members of the same group of *amici* supervise the equality between the members and over their borders (interior-exterior). Whoever repeatedly falls short, whoever deviates with respect to the group norms, can be expelled. One cannot be a member of more than one group of *amici* at the same time, nor can one change groups often. For such a group of *amici*, the *chiazza* is the normal, limited expanse and movement space

for acts within which the members manifest themselves as a group of *amici*.

On the *chiazza*, the center of the *paisi*, there is a paradoxical coincidence of symmetrical and asymmetrical reciprocity, i.e., where it concerns the core of the social life of a *paisi*. As regards the discourse itself, the "official", public *paisi* culture, the virile, sexual component is always present. This exalts the man to male self-satisfaction. But it could also be a subliminal compensation on the social level of what is precisely the opposite on the physical level, for the discourse on the *chiazza* has an obvious mirror function with respect to the domestic space. The honor of the man and the modesty of the woman, exterior and interior, are mirror images of each other. This leads us to the relationship between *chiazza* and the home.

2. The Domestic Space: The "Interior"

If the *chiazza* is the social center op the *paisi*, the home or *casa* is the personal center of each individual separately, which brings us to the second space that needs to be discussed. In addition to the *chiazza*, which is situated half way between safety and danger and half way between symmetry and asymmetry, there is the home — and to a lesser extent the extended family and the *vicinatu* — the locus of safety, purity, and symmetry.

In the first instance, the home is the extension of the body. As such, the home is the specific space for vegetative and procreative bodily acts, with feeding and motherhood being very important here. At the same time, these acts generate a symmetrical reciprocity within the narrow space of the home and stand at the source of an interior-exterior polarity.

The physical bodiliness of each subject is a limited extension within which he is spatially restricted by his bodily surface and is temporally restricted by his birth and death and within which he experiences his body history. This boundary is essential. The physical bodiliness maintains essentially an interior-exterior polarity and is concerned with transgressions of the bodily boundary and with transactions within the body. The boundaries and transgressions concerning the vegetative and procreative functions are, of course, of particular importance. Parallel to this in the sphere of social life are acts that maintain or undermine, transmit, feed, and promote life, which belong to the home. They give

concrete substance to the relations of consanguinity and of marriage, and they are of importance for the determination and filling out of the stages of the life cycle.[3] The acts within the home are always acts with high physical accessibility for the other and with farreaching reciprocity. The home is the specific zone where symmetrical reciprocity and direct exchange arise. Because the mother is the major guarantee for this, for she prevents excessive asymmetry from replacing symmetry, she is sacred and the home is the woman: *la casa è la fimmina*. Female bodiliness is the pre-eminent symbol for the home. When 159 Caltanissetta children (79 boys and 80 girls) between 9 and 12 years of age were asked to draw their families on a sheet of paper, 62 of them drew an all-eating-together scene as opposed to 36 out of 157 children (79 boys and 78 girls) in a control group of Belgian children of comparable age and socio-economic backgrounds and only 9 out of 156 Sicilian immigrant children (65 boys and 91 girls) in Brussels. We consider it significant that the mother in the Caltanissetta drawings was depicted as the one who feeds the family: she was drawn standing and bringing food to the table, while the rest of the family were seated at the table with the father at the head.[4]

As regards the line from purity to impurity and from symmetry to asymmetry, the home, unlike the *chiazza*, is not in the middle but on one of the extremes, namely, at the pole of symmetry and purity. In addition, this concerns more than just physical purity. The purity of the group of relatives in the relationship between relatives and non-relatives is also preserved in the domestic zone, while it is exposed to impure influences and to real dangers outside of the home.

A "home" can be infringed upon in two ways: physically and symbolically. The home is physically attacked by the murder of a man. Women are not murdered. A symbolic attack is directed against a woman of the group by means of besmirching her reputation. A woman is tarnished when her exclusive bodily belonging to the man is yielded outside of the boundaries of her marriage. This is a symbolic destruction of the dignity of the home and occurs when a man who does not belong to the group of relatives penetrates the domestic zone in the absence of the husband, the *patri*, or the *suttapatri*. A woman who symbolizes the group can also be sexually compromised or lose her propriety when a man who does not belong to the group of relatives lures her outside of the domestic zone (in the broad sense). This structure can be observed in Sicily down to the slightest details, for example, in the *fuiuta*, in the

former practice of *nchiuintina* (a man locking himself up alone with a girl in her home), and in the chaperoning of a marriageable, not engaged girl while strolling around the *chiazza* by her sisters or a brother or her girl friends.

In Sicily, the borders of the domestic zone are, in view of the many dangers from the outside, very rigid, and certainly for what concerns the limits around the nuclear family. Since this concerns a zone of purity, both the husband and the wife find safety and security in it, and one of the most important concrete tasks of the woman is to preserve this purity as much as possible and to provide security for her husband.

The woman expresses her purity by her exclusive bodily belonging to her husband and by her socio-moral inviolacy and even propriety. Before her marriage, she is a virgin, and within her marriage she gives herself only to her husband. Never does she let herself be compromised in any way by any element of impurity. Elements that belong to another geographic space will not compromise her. Even *amici* of her husband or son do not normally come to visit the man at home, and, when they do, they stand, as it were, in the doorway. To the outside world, she sees to it that her reputation remains unblemished. Spiritually, too, she is the one who exerts the most effort for the integrity of the home. Although the main church stands on the village square, the male space, it is rarely visited by men. As the dignity of the man is symbolically represented by the purity of the woman, so the Madonna is the symbolic concretization of the purity of the supernatural order. Who else can seek to approach the supernatural order better than the Sicilian woman, a virgin before her marriage and — with clear restrictions in sexuality — a mother of sons when married? Who is closer to the symbol of the supernatural order than she? Religion is thus pre-eminently a female concern. But the same purity that is expressed in the spiritual is exteriorized in the most ordinary things. In many ways, the Sicilian wife sees to the internal ordering of the home and the safety of her husband, whom she has to control to assure his safety. Finally, purity will be expressed even in the material cleanliness of the home.

Two small-scale surveys can serve to illustrate this. In a study among housewives in the old city of Caltanissetta in which the women were asked to rank six qualities of the ideal woman, the most common order was the following: 1) the wife is faithful to her husband; 2) she is a true mother for the entire family; 3) she succeeds in keeping the home clean and orderly; 4) she knows her proper place and acts properly on the

street and also in the company of her husband; 5) she is economical; and 6) she succeeds in having her family accepted as exemplary for the others. The first three values are concerned with purity; the fourth is a special nuance of modesty; and the last two are concerned with respect. In a similar testing of the ideal husband, the values of respect (being able to improve the economic condition of the family, being the head of the family, the *capufamigghia,* etc.) stand at the top of the list.

Domestic purity not only has multiple meanings both for the woman and for the home, it is also something active, something that also affects the husband. It actively protects him. Not only does the husband protect the home, but the home, the woman, also protects and controls him. Children are socialized in this direction from the outset. Upon the presentation of a number of Thematic Apperception Test plates to a group of 15 Sicilian boys and 15 Sicilian girls, ten and eleven years old, in the old city of Caltanissetta, the significance given to TAT no. 4 is striking. In this plate, a woman is shown standing with her arm holding a man by the shoulder, while in the background there is another woman, less clearly visible and smaller. According to the grid of George De Vos,[5] the Sicilian children saw a story of the successful or unsuccesful control of the man by the woman. A control group of 30 Belgian children from Brussels of the same age, however, saw a story of unfaithfulness and a lack of relational stability. For the Sicilian children the man-woman relationship is not experienced as being threatened from within. Neither the husband nor the wife give signs of weakness that would lead to unfaithfulness, in spite of the presence of the small female figure in the background, and the husband was said to be angry about something that happened outside of the home. His wife then calms him. Of the 15 Sicilian boys, three saw the man as being very angry and three saw him as having been seriously insulted and eager for revenge; four saw the woman as succeeding in calming him. In seven other cases, the man wants to go out and set things right, while the woman tries but does not succeed to keep him from doing so. Of the 15 Sicilian girls, six saw the man as angry, and two considered him hurt. All eight of these saw the woman as succeeding in calming him. Although the number of stories was limited, it is still striking that such stories were not told by their Belgian contemporaries, who instead told stories about a man leaving his wife out of unfaithfulness (six of the 15 girls and 8 of the 15 boys).

At least with reference to this one TAT plate (No. 4), it is clear how

the domestic zone in Sicily, symbolized by the woman, is not simply a passive space to be protected but also plays an active protecting role.

3. The Flexible Extensions of the Domestic Space

While the domestic zone is a positive complex that stands for purity, safety, security, and prosperity — bodily as well as socio-morally and spiritually — the world that falls outside of it is the negative complex. Nevertheless, while the walls of the home are almost impenetrable, this does not prevent flexible extensions of the domestic space from occurring. One, more symbolic than geografic, is the extended family. Although a marriage between cousins could, consequently, cause problems and actually occurs quite rarely, these problems would never concern doubts about virginity or later mutual faithfulness. In the case of such a marriage, this is an argument that is immediately cited by the relatives.

In addition to the extended family, however, the *vicinatu* is the farthest but also the most natural extension of the home. Together, the home and the female neighborhood comprise the domestic space of the woman. In the *vicinatu*, female friendship develops with symmetrical relationships. The women exchange information and provide help in the establishment of the domestic community and in the relationships with the husbands. Thresholds are crossed more easily by female than by male neighbors. One cannot speak of open asymmetrical relationships between the women such as those that occur between the various groups of men on the *chiazza*. When asymmetrical relationships do occur, it is more covert, and then they concern typically maternal values, such as the raising of daughters, the preparation of the marriage of a daughter, pregnancy, and the birth of a child, where it must be demonstrated how well — and thus certainly no worse than another — the mother knows and fulfills her role. The mutual appreciation of each others' maternal role is, however, too delicate a matter to be able to be the subject of continual critical interest, at least for the themes just cited. Therefore, the competitivity is instead shifted to less vulnerable themes such as furniture, even though exemplary motherhood always hovers in the background. In view of the limited extension in which the mutual relationships within the *vicinatu* have to be worked out, the typically

symmetrical relationships receive by far the most attention, and asymmetrical relationships are permitted at most covert expression.

4. Friendship and Patronage as Buffer Institutions

While the home is situated on one side of the *vicinatu*, on the other side of the segregation line in the gestalt is the non-female world. Should the woman move in the non-female space, she has to do it in a culturally prescribed manner.

Two institutions that have a structural explanation on the other, threatening side of the segregation line are male friendship, albeit to a lesser degree, and patronage. Male friendship is situated, as noted above, halfway along the pure-impure continuum between the domestic zone and the outer world. Its place is the *chiazza*, which is the center of the life of the group, the center of the *paisi*. With patronage, another symbolic step is taken towards the negative complex of the "absolute outer", which stands for insecurity and danger. Friendship and patronage are buffer institutions between the pure domestic space and the dangerous "absolute outer". The difference between the two is that the patron-client system is more univocally characterized by a vertical movement: the acquisition or, better, the conquest of higher status. The patron-client system is one of the socially accepted means by which one may strive for an increase of respect in contrast to other methods, which are socially rejected (the mafia and witchcraft). As the antipode of the private home space, where commensality and physical intimacy generate horizontal relations, on the other side of the *chiazza*, in the "outer world", the most aloof relationships are constructed.

5. The "Absolute Outer"

How is the "outer world" concretized on the other side of *chiazza* and patronage? Rudolph Bell, citing what he takes to be an illustration of *campanilismu*, i.e., an excessive attachment to one's place of birth, but which we would rather consider to be an illustration of this "unsafe, impure outer", refers to the inhabitants of the Sicilian village of Nissoria, who describe the inhabitants of the five surrounding villages, respectively, as possessed by evil spirits, mentally retarded, full of

cuckolds, and stinking, and their village as a rest stop for gangsters.[6] The residents of Caltanissetta city call the residents of San Cataldo insane because their water is too salty, and they call the Riesini mafiosi. The Riesini consider themselves to be hospitable and pure (e.g., as regards the control of their women), while they consider the residents of Sommatino "retarded" and the women of Caltanissetta whores. In short, anyone not from one's own village is perceived negatively and to be impure. However, this is softened in practice, because, as the proverb has it, there are good and bad situations (or people) everywhere ("*tuttu lu munnu è paisi*").

The most negative, the most impure and dangerous, the "absolute outer", are realities like the mafia and witchcraft, which cannot be situated with geographic precision. They are feared and rejected, but also partially confirmed at the same time.

6. The Imaginary Shifting of Zones

In reviewing the zones of the diagram, one notices one phenomenon in particular. Each more exterior zone, which is, in principle, a more threatening zone, is metaphorically equivalent to a more familiar zone for the people involved. A member of an extended family is considered as *sangu miu*, as is the case with members of the nuclear family. A good *amicu*, is called and experienced as a *fratellu*, a brother. The patron calls his client a *bon amicu* in his presence, and the client, in his turn, may speak of his patron as a *bon amicu*, though not in his presence, for then the patron is called *don* out of respect. The more threatening zones are thus always reduced to a safer space. But the shift is imaginary, and the Sicilian who is not a fool always remains conscious of it. Thus, friendship, which has its locus on the *chiazza*, is called sacred, and it is sacred, too, because *unu sulu unn'è bonu mancu a manciari*: alone a man cannot even eat. But, at the same time the Sicilian knows that this same *amicu*, who is a *fratellu*, is not *sangu miu*. "*Cù cunfida 'u cori all'amici, metti 'a pruuli 'nto luci*": who opens his heart to friends puts dynamite in the coals of a fire.

7. The Structures of the Cultural Gestalt and the Individual

The social identity and privileged social interactions of a male individual are very much spatially differentiated through the course of his life cycle, which is much less the case for the woman.

The child, a boy as well as a girl, stays in the female space, the home and the *vicinatu*. As a *picciottu*, the boy gradually emerges from it. As a *giovinottu*, he finally finds a place within a group of friends on the *chiazza*. As a young unmarried man or *omu*, he exhibits his virility on the *chiazza*, while at home he develops a strong affective and nourishment-related bond with his mother.

The girl, in the meantime, from child to marriageable young woman, remains in the domestic space. As a child, of course, like her brother, she stays in the female space. The time when the *chiazza* enters the life of her brother is also the moment of segregation. The roads of brother and sister diverge fundamentally. While rivalry develops in the father-son relationship, there sometimes occurs a privileged father-daughter relationship, whereby the stress on virginity, which brings honor to the father, includes an institutional protection against the danger of incest. At the same time, the son, and particularly the eldest son, begins to take over the paternal authority role in the home. A new contributory element is created within the family, namely, the relationship of complementary reciprocity between the menopausal mother and the eldest son. The son identifies with the parental generation, while the actual marital relationship recedes. The family becomes more matrifocal.

Between mother and son arises a pronounced nourishment-related, intimate emotional relationship whereby the mother, in anticipation of her status as grandmother (i.e., the nourisher *par excellence*) begins to act toward the boy like an asexual sister. In the same way that the overemphasis on the virginity of the girl institutionally wards off incest in the father-daughter relationship, so the overemphasis on nourishment supports the incest taboo within the intimate, physical relationship of mother and son. The son adopts behavioral patterns that are reminiscent of the table whims of a small child and experiences his mother as the ideal nurse: only she can make the sauce for the pasta properly; only when she cooks the meal can he digest it. And the mother plays along enthousiastically.

As a post-menopausal woman, the mother begins to act like an asexual, sisterly contemporary of the son. That alternating generations

can overlap among women is also shown by the friendship that can develop for a time between a post-menopausal woman and a young girl (before her marriage).

The ideal image of the woman on Sicily is that of the Nourisher-Virgin. Both attributes coincide in the figure of the post-menopausal grandmother. Because her purity can no longer be endangered, because she matches the image of the ideal woman, she wins increasing authority. She can intervene in the family of her son. She can act publicly in the quarter and on the *chiazza*. She makes her husband, superfluous within the domestic space (the home and the *vicinatu*), particularly for what concerns internal management.

As the family becomes more matrifocal, the father-husband moves more and more exclusively to the *chiazza* and to the "outside". Since concern for honor is no longer relevant, he develops instrumental utility relationships. He is oriented to socio-economic prestige and must build a new identity with this exclusivity in mind. Concretely, he can thenceforth completely orient himself to life on the *chiazza* among his friends, with all the elements of complementarity and group self-satisfacion that this involves. He can also try to carve a place for himself and, if possible, to build a career within the patron-client system, or he can try to become a small-scale patron himself in the milder form of advisor or in the stronger form of economic key figure and protector with respect to a group of clients. As a still older man, a *vecchiettu,* he no longer has a space in which he can actively build an identity associated with it. He becomes a marginal observer in the family as well as on the *chiazza*.

When the father definitively exchanges the home for the *chiazza*, the first fundamental change in the life of the daughter occurs. She leaves the domestic space of her youth to go and live as a bride with her husband in a new home. In the meantime, the son also leaves his mother for a bride, with whom he, too, establishes a new home. For a time, the relationship between the new wife and the mother of the husband can, culturally speaking, be difficult as we have noted above. It depends in large measure on the personal qualities of the three people involved — the son, the new wife, and his mother — whether the "triangle" relationship will be positive or negative. But generally, with each new home, the new *vicinatu* and the new extended family, particularly from the wife's side, will predominate in the determination of the new domestic space in which the children will grow up.

The cycle thus repeats itself.

8. The Old Men and the Old Women

Before discussing emigration as a potentially strong interfering factor, we still consider for a moment two associated marginal conditions that deserve our attention, namely that of the old men and that of the old women.

The old men sit on chairs or benches on the edge of the *chiazza* or sometimes even on a square some distance from it. They sit there immobile, no longer walking up and down like the friends, actually no longer being of consequence in the life of the society unless merely as observers watching, without interposing a word.

The career of the old women is totally different. It is as though aging brings more status. Some even dominate the life of the *vicinatu*. In a certain sense, they, freed from their concern for symbolic familial purity, receive more freedom of movement and from then on move more easily through the entire *paisi* and thus dispose over more information. Coming together as a group for the daily evening mass or rosary in the church, they form an efficient social control network that is best not underestimated by marriageable girls and young wives.

Because of the specific socialization strategies and because of the ageing process and its differential effects on the man and the woman, the cultural gestalt is not a static given that encloses the subjects once and for all in one particular zone. This dynamic character of the cultural gestalt is nowhere better displayed, in fact, than in the migration process, to which the second part of the present work is devoted.

9. Respect, *Chiazza*, Village Culture, and Emigration

The most important creative influence within the dynamics that take place through the cultural gestalt becomes operative upon emigration. Indeed, in a number of cases, the concern for respect is a stimulus for emigration. This occurs when the predominantly rural situation of a *paisi* has no respectable position available for certain men. This was the case in several *paisi* in Sicily in the first twenty-five years after the Second World War. The same stimulus for emigration also occurs when a man, a *giovinottu* or *omu*, does not succeed in acquiring adequate social status in the *paisi*, and simultaneously a positive image of emigration is presented, from whatever source. This form of emigration is more

typical of Sicily in the seventies. However that may be, the emigration — which does not seem to come to a stop until the eighties — is oriented to the acquisition or, better, the conquest of respect (with the representative locus being the *chiazza*) rather than of honor. This starts a change in the view of life of an emigrating Sicilian family, and one may thus expect changes in the socio-cultural code upon emigration.

Of course, it is not just the complex cultural code that is determinative for and in the immigration, there are also elements that are more generally present in one or another form in any village culture. And here a discontinuity of socialization can also occur, certainly when somewhat older, first-generation immigrants are involved. Some socialization elements have already been discussed above: the small groups of women in the *vicinatu*, the *chiazza* for boys, segregation, challenge, the interaction between symmetrical and asymmetrical relationships, the positions of elderly people. These are elements that are directly part of the cultural pattern. But where the older *viddani* and *braccianti* are involved, there are also more general characteristics that rise from the *rural village culture*. For example, there is learning by operant conditioning, where the child learns a task by imitation without receiving much verbal explanation. The importance of this declined sharply in Sicily in the beginning of the 1960s with the rapid expansion of formal education. And there is undoubtedly also the typical awareness of the future as an extension of present time, which is still a reality primarily among older, less educated people. When necessary, these elements of typical village culture are cited in the discussion of the immigration.

The chapters of Part II are devoted to the whole of the socio-cultural changes, with particular attention being given to the pattern-bonded components.

10. The Accelerating Sicilian Evolution

It is true that one may speak of a certain return of emigrants to Sicily during the 1980s, a return that involves not only retired people. Younger people are also returning, more than formerly, because of the economic crisis of Northwest Europe. For 1983, 1984, and 1985, respectively, 89, 56, and 69 people returned to Caltanissetta from foreign countries; to Riesi 95, 114, and 111; and to Sutera 28, 11, and 2. And, in the meantime, Italy has changed globally from an emigration to an im-

migration country.[7] Thus, in Sicily, temporary and underpaid Tunisian guest workers are being employed in the grape harvests.

Culturally, too, Sicily is rapidly changing. The generalization of higher levels of education and the influence of the mass media are contributory factors. People under the age of 40 are being strongly influenced, and particularly those under the age of 25 for whom segregation or concepts like purity and impurity are being seriously challenged on the ideo-cultural level. For the older people, too, the evolution is inevitable. In the old part of the city of Caltanissetta, the *vicinatu* life has reduced considerably because many people have moved from neighborhoods like Santa Venera and San Francesco to the *case popolari* in the new part of the city (e.g., to San Pietro) where the newly built apartment buildings make the female *vicinatu* life difficult.

The changes in Sicily, however, are taking place outside of the horizon of experience of the emigrants, who continue to live according to the coherent ideo-cultural code they transported from Sicily to the host country. Of course, changes have occurred in this code, but they are of another nature, namely, inherent to the succession of the generations.

In Sicily itself, and particularly in Caltanissetta, in the mid-1980s the most obvious is the crisis involving concepts such as honor and shame, purity and impurity, segregation and the female *vicinatu*. On the social level, however, the aspect of *challenging culture,* of *patronage* and *clientelism,* as well as the importance that is attached to public *respect* are still as vital among the young people taken up in the homogenizing consumption culture as among their elders.

PART II
FROM CHALLENGE TO CHANGE IN IMMIGRATION

Chapter 5
The Italian and Sicilian Immigration in Belgium

Italian workers must have already been employed in the steel mills in Seraing near Liège in Belgium there in 1864 because efforts were made to recruit Italian priests for them.[1] The unification of Italy had been accomplished three years previously (1860-61). As the liberal freedoms advanced, so, too, did the first mass emigrations. At the time, Italy was by no means alone in Europe in this respect. It is striking that the North of Italy provided the first immigrants and, as the small number of Italians in Belgium indicates, it was primarily the Mediterranean Basin and later America that attracted them. Toward the end of the 19th century, a change occurred in the structure of Italian emigration: the rural population from the Mezzogiorno furnished most of the emigrants and transoceanic emigration dominated. In 1906, 276,000 emigrated to elsewhere in Europe while more than 500,000 emigrated to America. Belgium and the rest of Northern Europe were not considered for the time being. In 1900, there were only 3,723 Italian immigrants in Belgium, and Italian immigration to Belgium remained limited to a few thousand up until 1922, at which time substantial numbers of people

began to arrive. From then on, Italians, Poles, Czechs, and Yugoslaves arrived to work in the Belgian coal mines.

Which Italians settled in Belgium before 1940? From 1926 to 1931, the Veneti (Northern Italy) were well represented. Then came workers from the Piedmont, Liguria, and Lombardy. In the beginning of the thirties, the international economic crisis commenced and fascism stopped economic emigration from Italy. However, political emigration began. In 1938, Belgium had 37,134 Italian immigrants, almost all from Northern Italy. That this immigration began to manifest significant community aspects is shown by the foundation in 1928 in Seraing of the *missione cattolica italiana* under Don Guido Piumatti, whose superior was Msgr. Babini, director of the Paris mission.

After 1945, the initially predominantly Italian immigration in Belgium was characterized by periods of active recruitment alternating with phases of restriction or prohibition. Active recruitment — the pull factors we mentioned in Chapter I above — was conducted from the beginning of 1946 to 1948, from November 1950 to 1952 and from May 1955 to 1958. There was another active recruitment period from September 1961 through 1967, but this effort was directed primarily to non-European immigrants, Moroccans and Turks. Each recruitment period was followed by a change of policy whereby immigration was terminated and the immigrants sometimes expelled: from the end of 1948 through 1950, from May 1952 through 1955, from January 1958 to 1961, and after February 1967.[2] In the middle of the 1970s, another economic crisis commenced in the West, and Belgium, like the other Western European countries, tried to rid itself of its immigrants where possible.

In the first postwar phase, recruitment was directed to Italians. On 20 June 1946, a Belgian-Italian protocol was signed in Rome, that provided 50,000 Italian workers for the Belgian coal mines: 2,000 workers per week, all of whom would receive a medical examination before departure. These Italian workers were to fill the gap created by the departure of the prisoners of war and the collaborators who had been employed in the mines immediately after the war. In exchange, Belgium would deliver coal to Italy. The "guest workers" were obliged to work in the mines for at least their first five years in Belgium.

After 1951, the second of active postwar recruitments, the recruitment shifted from Northern to Southern Italy. The periods of 1951 to 1952 and from May 1955 to 1956 form the major periods of recruitment of

contingents, which was done by Belgium in Sicily and throughout Southern Italy. From the 1950s on, Sicily was wrestling with a major crisis in agriculture. Thus, a combination of push and pull factors led to contingents of Sicilian agricultural workers coming to work in the Belgian coal mines in these years. At the end of 1951, the first obligatory five-year contracts in the coal mines of the first postwar immigrants still predominantly from Northern Italy terminated, and the gaps had to be filled.

While the mines in Limburg (a Dutch-speaking province of Belgium) had modern equipment, the mines of Wallonia (in the French-speaking region) often left much to be desired. For the time being, the reports of accidents did not reach the public at large. Italians were regularly among the victims: 17 in 1946, 32 in 1947, 37 in 1948, 41 in 1949, 40 in 1950, 51 in 1951, 75 in 1952, 101 in 1953, 56 in 1954, and 38 in 1955.[3] 1956 was the year of the great disaster. In February, 7 Italians had already died in a mine in Quaregnon. On 8 August 1956, there occurred the tragedy in the Charbonnage du Bois-du-Cazier in Marcinelle that filled the general public with horror. Of the 262 casualties, there were 136 Italians, the largest single group. In Italy, the disaster generated an enormous response and reduced in large measure the readiness to descend into Belgian coal mines.

Belgium went to recruit elsewhere: in Greece and Spain and, after 1961, in Morocco and later in Turkey.

However, the Belgian situation was changing: a crisis developed in coal mining and industry shifted to the harbors. This meant that a number of new industrial centers grew up after 1960 — Brussels, Antwerp, and Ghent — to the disadvantage of the Walloon basins. Some Southern Italian immigrants, whose mine contracts had expired, moved and went to work in these industries. This internal migration, which originated largely from Wallonia, was directed specifically to Brussels. At the same time, new immigrants arrived in Brussels (Moroccans and Southern Italians), in Ghent (Turks), and in Antwerp (Moroccans). A number of them, of course, still went to the traditional immigration zones of Limburg and Wallonia.

Another important new element was the EEC Decree of 15 October 1968, which permitted the free movement for employment for EEC citizens. Significantly, it coincided with the termination of the last period of active recruitment of foreign labor (1961-1967). When the EEC decree went into force, the Italian immigrant population in Belgium

was constituted as follows: Wallonia and Limburg had primarily Northern Italians, their arrival dating back to the period between the two world wars. The more recent Southern Italian immigration of the contingent type took place particularly in the first half of the 1950s. Some of these people settled definitively in Wallonia and Limburg, merging with the older Northern Italian immigrants. Others, and particularly the Southern Italian immigrants, left the mines in the second half of the 1950s and the first half of the 1960s and moved to Brussels, which was the attracting industrial pole at the time. In these years, too, and this was definitively confirmed in 1968, Brussels was open for new Southern Italian immigrants, who now arrived not in contingents but as individuals or families of their own accord to join their *paisani* because the situation in Brussels was presented most positively in their home regions. This lasted until the middle of the 1970s, at which time Brussels passed its industrial zenith. The current economic crisis then struck Belgium in full force, like elsewhere in the West. This led to a de facto stop in immigration. From then on, there has only been a small dribble of immigrants to Belgium. On the first-generation level from then on, there was more "returning" than "immigration", and the demographic increase among the Italian immigrants is to be ascribed more to the second than to the first generation.

From 84,134 in 1947, the Italian population in Belgium grew to 200,086 in 1961 (the beginning of the coal crisis) and to 249,490 in 1970 (shortly after the EEC decree for free movement of EEC citizens). On 30 April 1977, when the economic crisis had become acute, there were 287,044 Italians in Belgium of whom about 80,000 were Sicilians, with 36,974 Italians in the Brussels region, 31,664 in the Flemish region, and 218,365 in the Walloon region (the German region had 41). The total population of foreigners in Belgium at the time was 850,917. On 1 January 1981, Belgium had a population of 9,863,374: 8,959,638 Belgians (90.84 %) and 903,736 foreigners (9.16 %) (source: National Institute of Statistics).

The present study is concerned with Genk, a semi-rural area in the Flemish region, and the highly urbanized Brussels, two differentiated places by which an attempt is made to arrive at a more global anthropological understanding of Sicilian immigration in Belgium. Genk serves in the study not only as a semi-rural zone, but also, as noted above, as representative of an older and more traditional type of immigration. And as representative of the complete history of Italian

immigration in Belgium, it may be considered roughly equivalent to Wallonia. The stages of the immigration can be described as follows: a Northern Italian immigration between 1920-1940 and 1946-1950, and an additional Southern Italian phase from 1950 on. In Brussels, an agglomeration of 19 municipalities, our study was focussed on two districts, which are representative of less traditional immigration profiles: the Laken district around the Bockstael Square (part of the municipality of Brussels) and the Kuregem district in the municipality of Anderlecht. Laken, in this study, represents a district where Sicilian immigrants, who had gone to Wallonia and Limburg between 1950 and 1960 to work in the coal mines, moved after 1960 in order to find work outside of the mines. Kuregem is the largest assembly point in Brussels for Sicilian immigrants who arrived after 1960 directly from Sicily.

With Genk, Laken, and Kuregem, we have not only the three major immigrant profiles (though not only Sicilian) but also the most typical residential district situations (one may call them "reception models") of the immigration phenomenon in Belgium, and perhaps also in Western Europe: the suburbs or housing estates in Genk, a twilight zone and quasi-ghetto in Kuregem, and a second integration zone in Laken.

1. Genk and the Housing Estates

In 1930, Genk had 716 Italian residents. In 1947, the number was 2,233, and in 1954, 6,296. On 1 January 1977, out of a population of somewhat more than 60,000, the municipality of Genk had about than 9,500 Italian residents, of whom half were second-generation immigrants.

The housing estates are spread out in large squares, generally with grey mine shaft or dump on the near horizon. In principle, the system of housing estates in Genk was a system of industrial estates. Under this name, the reality before 1940 was that the renter, always a miner, concluded a contract with the mining company that was valid for the duration of his employment. The company built schools, organized athletic events and festivals, such as the Feast of St. Barbara, the patroness of miners. The company provided the houses and the priests and religious in a system of enlightened social patronage, although services were demanded in return: one of the stipulations of the contract was that the renter had to pay a supplement on his rent should he be absent from work.

After the industrial estates there came those financed by large building companies, which largely took over the former estates. In function of the estates, they further developed the infrastructure: lower and advanced technical schools and food stores specially oriented to the guest workers and their families.

Moreover, the estates were always situated to the west of the mines in order to keep pollution from smoke and coal dust to a minimum.

Within the estates, the percentage of foreigners (at least between 50 % and 80 %) was considerably higher than elsewhere in Genk (maximum of 20 %). Although they were established largely on a pluri-ethnic basis, this did not prevent the formation of concentrations of nationalities in clusters. The not very numerous Sicilians from the Province of Caltanissetta live mostly in two adjoining estates, which are separated by a major road. Cluster formation is clearer for some Sicilian *paisini* from outside of the Province of Caltanissetta. The most clear is the example of the village of Lercara Friddi (Palermo Province). In 1977, there were about 70 first-generation nuclear families from this village in the Genk region, with 35 of them in one small estate. This was a district of 17 streets, with people from Lercara Friddi in 14 of them. In the entire district, there were 443 families, 35 of them or 1 out of 12 from Lercara Friddi. Of the total population of 2,368, 1 out of 10 or 221 were from Lercara Friddi. 87.34 % of the estate were foreigners, and most of them were Italian (1,265 out of 1,766). Within the dominant Italian group, 1 out of 6 originated from Lercara Friddi. Outside of this estate, there lived only 10 nuclear families from Lercara, and they still lived in the immediate vicinity. The father was almost always a miner or a retired miner. Thus we arrive at the last important characteristic of the Genk estates and of the traditional immigration profile in Belgium: it concerns coal miners.

About miners on a different continent, June Nash observed that "the solidarity of miners as a work force is an often noted but seldom explained phenomenon."[4] She noted for Bolivia that "workers' families share the same basic conditions as the miners: their water supply, electricity, and other facilities are an extension of the mine facilities and are contingent on the wage-workers' relation to their jobs. Most of the basic foodstuffs, oil for their stoves, and clothing come from the pulpería, or commissary operated by the company".[5] "Moreover, in periods of industrial crisis the community and family are immediate social conduits of the effects..."[6] And she concludes: "The shared sense of *communitas*, of belonging to the same social group and sharing equally

in its destiny, reinforces the solidarity of class gained in the work group''.[7] Among the miners and immigrants of Genk the ''communitas'' never developed to such an extent as in Bolivia, but certainly in the years immediately after 1945 there were elements present within the formula of the industrial estates that pointed in this direction.

To round off the presentation of Genk and the industrial estates there, the following figures can be given about the Sicilian subgroup. As of 1 January 1977, of the somewhat more than 9,500 Italians, 920 had been born in Sicily, with 342 in the Province of Palermo, 220 in Agrigento, 102 in Enna, 76 in Catania, 61 in Messina, and 56 in Caltanissetta, and so on. Of the 56 born in Caltanissetta Province, 28 had been born in the city of Caltanissetta. Most of the 56 people from Caltanissetta had emigrated between 1950 and 1960. On Sicily they had been *viddani* or *braccianti*. In Genk, almost all of them had worked or still work in the mines, while the women stay at home to keep house.

In the mid eighties, just like in Wallonia 25 years earlier, also in Limburg a severe coal crisis breaks out.

2. Kuregem, between Quasi-Ghetto and Twilight Zone

Kuregem, the district situated in the south of Brussels between the South Station and the canal that runs north and south through Brussels, is bisected by a major arterial. On the one side of the arterial is situated a small quasi-ghetto (between the canal and the arterial) and on the other side is a much larger twilight zone that extends to the South Station. In Brussels, Kuregem was the most obvious point of entry for the Sicilian immigrants who came from Sicily by train after 1960. In the quasi-ghetto live most those who already occupied a place in Sicilian society that was clearly marginal. In the twilight zone are the immigrants who still have to orient themselves fully to Brussels and Belgium in general, but who above all want to avoid being associated too closely with their *paisani* of the quasi-ghetto.

a. The Quasi-Ghetto of Kuregem

Immigrant neighborhoods have long been described in the literature as ghettos. Thus, for example, Louis Wirth wrote in his famous book on American Jewish ghettos: ''While the ghetto is, strictly speaking, a

Jewish institution, there are forms of ghettos that concern not merely Jews. There are little Sicilies, little Polands, Chinatowns, and Black belts in our large cities..."[8] As important characteristics of a ghetto Wirth lists the following: long-term social isolation, effective subordination of one ethnic minority group with respect to a majority group of different ethnicity, institutionalized tolerance between two groups that would otherwise come in serious conflict on fundamental, often moral questions, and a strong administrative control capability in the hands of the majority group. Externally, Wirth saw this ghetto, where no new construction occurred, as having natural or other frontiers, for example, railway tracks, tramlines, or major roads.[9] But he also stressed that such ghettos are not merely to be described by external physical features[10] but by mentality, for they are primarily a cultural community:[11] "The ghetto is a closed community, perpetuating itself and renewing itself with a minimum of infusion of influences from without, biologically as well as culturally".[12]

Among the immigrants in Brussels, we see neither among the Sicilians nor among other groups such ghetto formation in this strict sense of the term. A model can be discerned that has some features of a ghetto because of the limited area and the isolation of the neighborhood, the rigid social control, the very low degree of heterogeneity, and the dominance of one ethnic group. In the case of the small district of Kuregem, such a model was formed in the second half of the 1970s and lasted until the beginning of the 1980s after which more and more Moroccans settled there. The Sicilians living there had originated from a small number of villages in the Province of Caltanissetta (San Cataldo, Riesi, and the city of Caltanissetta) and have maintained isolated but continuous residence in the district for a number of years. Some of the older women never leave the district, where actually everything needed is available, except for their annual visit to relatives in Sicily.

In 1975, there were two primary meeting places for the men in this small district. They were dominated by people who had been considered as belonging to the lowest level of the population in Caltanissetta city. In Belgium, they tried in their manner to reverse the roles. To do this, it was sufficient to dominate the public spaces in the marginal district, which were the bars. The constructive dimensions of social life could in this way never develop, certainly if the life of the female *vicinatu* was lacking, and the stress lay on distrust and mutual control.

Although such a quasi-ghetto looks on the surface very Sicilian — and

is so perceived in Brussels by people from outside the district — it is in fact much more an attempt to reconstruct a Sicilian *paisi* that is doomed to fail. The *chiazza* is filled with the socially marginal, and the female *vicinatu* is lacking.

Is the home, the domestic zone, better off? In comparison with the "better" second-integration zone and also with the twilight zone, it is striking that very little property is owned by the residents in such a quasi-ghetto, even though the property values are very low. Also striking is the transitoriness and the instability of the residence, even among people who have lived there as much as 10 or 15 years. The immigrant lives with the clear idea that it is not his own house. This contributes to the evisceration of the role of the wife as housewife or *casalinga*.

The young immigrant women who move to such a quasi-ghetto have to do without the support of the *vicinatu*. What comes in its place? Either the model-in-crisis of a *paisana* in a similar situation or the model of an autochthon, generally older woman living on another floor in the same house. These are generally autochthons who live themselves on the fringes of society. For the newly-arrived Sicilian woman, role identity is seriously handicapped. Nevertheless, she must assure the unity of the family.

Where the position of the young mother is undermined, this is not rectified by a supplementary domestic contribution from the husband's side. The precariousness of the labor market along with the marginal character of the meeting spaces are some of the reasons for this. Thus there arises a vicious circle: the father is in a proletarian positon; the children attend quasi-ghetto schools where a third of them have to contend with being at least two years behind their age level so the chances are good that they will later follow their fathers into the proletariat; the mother, without the *vicinatu*, lives perpetually in a transitory situation. In short, there was social marginality in the country of origin, and this social marginality continues in the new country, without any prospects of change either in the former or in the latter.

After the beginning of the 1980s, the appearance of the district gradually changed. Moroccan and Turkish guest workers and their families arrived and moved in. A Moroccan mosque was established on the street floor of a house on a small square. One of the two dominant Sicilian bars disappeared because the owner returned to Caltanissetta with his family. The subculture of this small district gradually changed.

b. The Kuregem Twilight Zone

Because the ghetto concept is generally inapplicable to the most typical residential districts, we can speak about "twilight zones" as does John Rex.[13] With reference to the culture of the urban immigrant colony, Rex repeatedly stresses that immigrant districts form a heterogeneous whole in which primarily ethnic variables are operative, which is in conflict with the quasi-ghetto model. In the Brussels agglomeration, most of the immigrant districts are of this type (and the largest part of Kuregem is no exception). All kinds of cluster formations, in spite of the ethnic barriers, hold the district together in a living mosaic. In distinction to the second-integration zone, the external ethnic characteristics are not hidden. This creates the typically colorful foreignness of such a district.

In the twilight zone of Kuregem, the Sicilians were for years the dominant subgroup, and, in the beginning of the 1980s, they still have their own internal clustering. Particular streets are lived in mostly by Sancataldesi, others more by Riesini. In addition to people from the Province of Caltanissetta, who are much more numerous here than in Genk, there are many other Sicilians, particularly from the Province of Agrigento, and also many other Southern Italians (Pugliesi and Calabresi). They all emigrated directly to Brussels from Southern Italy after 1960 along with a few families, though proportionally much less in number, that moved from Wallonia or Limburg in a second stage to Kuregem and purchased a home there instead of in a more expensive district like Laken. They shared the area with a Spanish and Greek population that settled around the Brussels South Station between 1956 and 1960. There were also some Polish and French (ever since the independence of Belgium in 1830, Brussels has had a non-insignificant number of French citizens residing in it). At the end of the 1970s there was a strong increase of Moroccan and, though to a lesser degree, of Turkish immigrants.

One who comes to live in such a district does not separate his life entirely from the autochthon social reality, but the two realities, autochthon and immigrant, are not simple extensions of one another. In fact, there is a socio-cultural barrier behind which the autochthon population seeks protection from the colorful clusters of foreigners around it. Is it a mosaic or a broken mirror? Sometimes, the autochthon social reality is social marginality, though to a lesser extent than in the quasi-ghetto where the remaining autochthon population has clearly sought marginal-

ity and anonymity. The autochthon element in the twilight zone, however, is qualitatively more marginal than in the second-integration zone.

For all of Kuregem, quasi-ghetto and twilight zone together, the number of Italians as of 1 January 1978 was estimated at somewhat less than 5,000, a large proportion of them being Sicilians. This number has since tended to decrease rather than increase, while the number of Moroccans has climbed to above 5,000. In addition, there are about 3,000 Spanish immigrants and somewhat more than 1,000 Greek and 1,000 Turkish immigrants. Kuregem is a district of Anderlecht, one of the 19 municipalities that form the Brussels agglomeration. On 1 Januari 1981, Anderlecht has a population of 74,570 Belgians and 20,194 non-Belgians (N.I.S.).

3. Laken and the "Better" Second-Integration Zone

After about ten years, the assumption of a number of autochthon characteristics by the immigrants leads to a certain erosion of external "foreign" characteristics. The immigrant sometimes tries to identify less with his culture of origin or, in any event, less with the culture of the recently arrived immigrants. He tries to erase his "foreign" characteristics and to blend into the host country.

When this disposition is present in the immigrant and also when the owner is prepared to rent the immigrant an apartment — since most of the "foreignness" has disappeared — there is sufficient basis for the creation of a "better" second integration zone where several immigrant families may move more or less in a cluster while the autochthon appearance of the street is preserved.

The process in Laken, a district of the city of Brussels, began first with a number of houses in some of the sidestreets being occupied by such Sicilian immigrants, who generally purchased them. In time, other houses came up for sale because real estate experts considered that the value of the houses in the street would decline after the sales to the immigrants. The implantation of the "guest workers" in Laken took place around 1960. These were Sicilians who, after emigrating to Wallonia after 1950, began then to move to Brussels. Between 1965 and 1975, an entire cluster formed.

In Laken, they were confronted with a higher cost of living than in Wallonia or in Kuregem, a neighborhoud occupied by a lower social

class. Many wives were forced to get jobs, which added to the burden the women had to bear because the work inside the home was not reduced.

Up until shortly before 1980, Sicilians moving from Wallonia or Limburg were the only immigrants to penetrate Laken. But around 1980, Moroccan immigration began to spread throughout the municipalities around the canal that intersects Brussels. For the Moroccans, too, Laken counted from then on as a "better" second integration zone. More recently, some Turkish penetration has begun, but for the moment it is situated strictly on the fringes, and apartments in the center of Laken are not open to them.

On 1 Januari 1979, there were 1,862 Italians in Laken of whom 1,466 were concentrated around the Bockstael Square (i.e., in the center). These people had come mostly from the "triangle of depression" in Sicily. They had been *viddani* or *braccianti* in Sicily and had emigrated to Wallonia shortly after 1950 to work in the mines and had moved to Laken in the 1960s, a large number of them having purchased a house there. One major cluster consists of 156 first-generation immigrants from Sommatino near Riesi in the Province of Caltanissetta.

4. Integration = Social Promotion

As long as a Sicilian immigrant is not the owner of a house, he moves very readily, certainly in a metropolitan area. Ordinarily, the moves take place within a district in the search for better housing for roughly the same rent. Nevertheless, there are also interdistrict moves, but the direction of the possible moves is never random.

One who emigrates from Sicily to Genk will find a house in a housing estate and generally stays there, unless after a time he moves to the "autochthon" center of the city or to the metropolis. In the latter case, he will never move to a quasi-ghetto and generally not to a twilight zone but rather look for a house in a "better" second-integration zone.

One who immigrates from Sicily directly to Brussels will avoid the quasi-ghetto unless he already belonged to an extremely marginal social level in Sicily. In this case, he will fit into the "official" quasi-ghetto culture, unless he isolates himself from his environment, which happens occasionally, for ten years or so, saves as much as possible, and, in one jump achieves social promotion by buying a home in a "better" second-

integration zone. Others look for housing in the twilight zone and move within the zone regularly until they either buy a house within the district, move to a second-integration zone and rent or buy a house, or move back to Sicily definitively. Once one has rented or purchased a house in a second-integration zone, one will never, for any reason, move in the reverse direction, that is, return to the quasi-ghetto or a twilight zone, not even for financial reasons. Respect, *rispettu,* would not permit it. For a Sicilian immigrant who lives in a second-integration zone there are only two possible moves available if he no longer can or wants to stay: he can move to an equivalent district or he can return to Sicily.

Chapter 6
The Adamos, Terranovas, Ferraras, Lo Stimolos, Lo Faros, Bellavias, Alùs, and the Others: A Case Study

Before moving to Belgium and before his military service, Giuseppe Adamo was a shepherd for nine years in the fields around his *paisi*, Caltanissetta. He lived on the edge of the city, somewhat higher up, in Mamma Bellavia's quarter. The older Bellavia sisters knew only his name and recalled that the Adamos were shepherds in the *paisi* during and immediately after the war. When he emigrated in 1955, Giuseppe had been married for 14 years. After 1955, he worked for 12 years in a mine in Genk and then retired. The couple had no children of their own, but when Giuseppe's brother died and shortly thereafter his brother's wife, who had also emigrated to Genk, leaving behind one of their sons, Dino, the Adamos took him in and raised him as their own.

In the mine, Giuseppe could never completely forget his earlier life as a shepherd. When he bought his house, which he wants to leave to Dino, in the housing estate where he lived, he built a sheep barn in his garden where he raised a few sheep. There were a good dozen by the time he retired from the mine. He then leased a pasture in the vicinity and devoted himself to his sheep. Giuseppe always said that he was happy in Genk, together with Dino, his nephew, his wife, who could cook mutton so well, with his sheep, and with his friends and also with his neighbors, the Terranovas, who were distant relatives. Giuseppe was happy in Genk. He had his own home, his own car, a decent pension, and every two years he and his wife could go on vacation to Sicily. Nevertheless, the Adamos returned definitively to Sicily in 1978, shortly after Dino got married. They bought a house there and a piece of land with some outbuildings in a rural district. And Giuseppe now lives, like before 1955, with his sheep. The house in Genk is now lived in by the young couple, Dino and Carmela Adamo.

While they still lived in Genk, the Adamos never went to Brussels to visit, even though they had relatives there and the Terranovas often suggested that they take them. "Bruxelles non è une bedda città"

(Brussels is not a beautiful city), Mrs. Adamo would say, and Giuseppe never had the time. The relatives lived in the quasi-ghetto of Kuregem. The Adamos did go there once, but they never returned, nor did these Brussels relatives ever come much to Genk.

The Adamos kept up on the news of the Sicilian *paisani* in Brussels through the Terranovas, Mrs. Terranova being a sister of three brothers, the Lo Stimolos, who lived close to each other in Kuregem. The Terranovas would often go to Brussels on Sunday. In Laken, one of the Terranova sons knew the Ferraras through his father and was included in the extended family of the Lo Stimolos through his wife. Mr. Terranova, who has since returned to Sicily, was previously an *amicu strettu* of Nunzio Ferrara. Both had emigrated, somewhat earlier than Giuseppe Adamo, in a contingent with other *paisani* to Belgium, and both had worked together for years in the same mine in Genk. They were both active in the ACLI, an Italian Catholic labor movement, in Genk until Mr. Terranova returned to Sicily in 1970. Immediately thereafter, Nunzio Ferrara, who did not move back to Sicily because of his children, moved to Laken in the hope that more prestigious work could be found for his children in Brussels. Each time Mr. Terranova calls his son in Genk from Sicily, he insists that greetings be conveyed to *l'amicu* Ferrara and wants to know how he is getting on.

Before emigrating, Nunzio Ferrara had worked in Sicily under a *mezzadria* contract, a kind of share-cropping system. A farmer would work a piece of land that belonged to a large landowner and keep a portion of the crop for himself, giving the rest to the landowner. Each year this could be a different plot. The young Nunzio Ferrara could not stomach this system, which has since been abolished in Sicily, so he emigrated. The mine, for him, was an important step forward but Brussels was the triumph, even though adaptation to the metropolis was not easy and even though his daughters had caused him difficulties by contesting his authority. And even though the move to Brussels did not mean a step forward in the finding of more prestigious work, the mine was definitively a thing of the past and he did get his house in the capital. Moreover, he now lives in the immediate vicinity of his brother and sister, who had initially found work in Borinage after they had emigrated and who had moved to Laken about the same time as he did.

Every time Terranova would drop in shortly after noon Sundays and suggest that Ferrara go with him to visit friends (the Lo Stimolos and others) in Kuregem, there would be something on TV that Nunzio did

not want to miss or there was something that urgently had to be done — whatever. He could never go with Terranova to Kuregem.

In the Kuregem quasi-ghetto, the Terranovas would drop in on the extended family of the Lo Stimolos, usually at the home of the two younger brothers, who had divided a larger house between them. All of the relatives come by, even the more distant ones, except the Adamos from Genk. About 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the men go to one of the two large bars in the vicinity "to drink a cup of coffee and play cards", leaving the women and the children behind. The Lo Stimolos are well known in the bar where they, intentionally or not, maintain good relations with Luigi Lo Faro. This is undoubtedly the real reason why the Adamo couple never went to Brussels. Years previously Luigi Lo Faro had belonged to one of the smaller mafia cells that was considered responsible for the death of a brother-in-law of Giuseppe Adamo in Sicily.

Born in 1933, Luigi Lo Faro had married at the age of 19 a girl of 14. This wife has been dead now for a good 20 years. Luigi had three sons, all married, and three daughters, who, he says, are going to school. He himself is the oldest of a series of four brothers and two sisters. In Sicily, Luigi was known as a pimp of the mafia kind. In this case, it was the former small, rural mafia, which was nevertheless held responsible for a number of cases of extortion and the murder of Giuseppe Adamo's brother-in-law a number of years previously. Giuseppe never talked about it. It is also not clear what the precise relationships are between the Lo Stimolos and Luigi Lo Faro. But the fact is that the young Terranova, of whom a since deceased brother of the father was married with a sister, also deceased, of Giuseppe Adamo, never succeeded in getting Giuseppe Adamo to go to Brussels after one visit to the Lo Stimolos and the quasi-ghetto, while Giuseppe would go and visit the Lo Stimolos when they were on vacation at the same time in their *paisi* in Sicily.

Indeed, the Adamos, the Terranovas, and the Lo Stimolos remained very strongly attached to Sicily over the years and would return there on vacation every year or two. The Lo Stimolos had all of their children baptized in the local church in Sicily, chose their *cumpari* and *cummari* there as well as the godparents for their children. The Terranovas and the Lo Stimolos marry among each other in the local church, *fannu canceddu*, "making a saddle": a Terranova brother and sister married a Lo Stimolo sister and brother. The Lo Stimolos stick together in a close cluster, and only the young Terranova, who married a Lo Stimolo girl, went to live outside of the cluster in Genk.

But what kept Giuseppe Adamo from Brussels? The quasi-ghetto? The connections, however superficial they probably might have been, with Luigi Lo Faro?

In the district and in the bar, everyone knew Luigi. He would be greeted as "*Signuri* Luigi", to which Luigi, with a raised finger, would reply that "non c'è Signuri che lu Signuri Diu!" ("There is no Lord but the Lord God"). Luigi willingly talked about when he lost his parents when he was 8 years old, his mother having been killed by a bomb in the war. He never said anything about the death of his father. His brothers were then six, four, and two years old. "I began to steal then in the country from the farmers in order to take care of my brothers and sisters. Therefore, because I kept them all alive by stealing, they are still so grateful to me. My brother Fernando who runs a bar here in Kuregem never lets me pay for a drink in his place. So I almost never go there because I want to pay. My sisters also let me do what I want, if I don't wash for a few days or don't shave, or want to take a woman to bed with me. Before I had a fantastic wife. I don't want to remarry, though my children ask me now and then why I don't. I don't want to because such a wife like mine I'll never find again."

But not everybody who patronized the bar wanted to be seen by Luigi, and some, such as the oldest Modica and the father Alù, the father of a large family who had previously moved to just outside of the district, seemed to contrive it so that they would come only when it could be assumed that Luigi and his close friends are not there. The woman who ran the bar, the only Sicilian woman who knew the male life of the Sicilian bars from close at hand, noticed nothing of all these things. She knew nothing and did not want to know anything. She was friendly and saw to it that the men got what they asked for. One who obviously tried to curry Luigi's favor was Salvatore B., who was about 30 years old. He had married at the age of 19 a girl two years younger than himself and had three children that had been placed in a foster care institution, where they were visited every Sunday by their mother. Salvatore did not work and was not looking for work. But his wife once stopped Assunta Bellavia, who works in a chocolate factory and who lives in Kuregem, on the street and asked her to put in a word for her at the factory, where many Sicilian immigrant women work. The young Mrs B. once invited Assunta to come to dinner at her home, but Mamma Bellavia advised her daughter in a letter from Sicily that she should not have anything to do with the B. family (see above Chapter 2).

Assunta Bellavia, like her sister Anna, lived in the Kuregem twilight zone. They are the two "Belgian" emigrants from the Bellavia family, which also had two "Swiss" emigrants (Gaetano and Mario) and one "Venezuelan" emigrant (Teresa).

Teresa was the first of the Bellavias to emigrate, apart from her father who had worked abroad when he was young. The two eldest brothers followed. The father died in 1967. Mamma Bellavia remained in Sicily with her three daughters and one son. Anna and Assunta were allowed to continue to go to school, but they could not get a job even though they had passed several examinations. The Bellavias could get no recommendation. *Signura* Modica, who had been a good friend of Mamma Bellavia and who had come to Brussels to live with her son, convinced Anna and Mamma Bellavia on a visit to the *paisi* that Anna should go with her to Brussels. Anna stayed for the first few weeks with the Modica family in the twilight zone of Kuregem, after which she rented a room from a family from San Cataldo who lived nearby and had a grocery store on the arterial that bisects Kuregem between the quasi-ghetto and the twilight zone. Some time later, in 1973, Assunta joined her sister in Brussels and found work in a chocolate factory as a packer of pralines.

In the meantime, Anna had met a Belgian man who had a good job as a white collar worker for the Brussels tram company. Assunta, who had come to live with Anna, was then left alone. Se then met a young Moroccan who was studying to become a technical engineer in Anderlecht: Abdel Houdak, son of Zine Houdak and Henia Bent el-Hachemi. On 9 November 1974, she married him. Se was then 25 years old and he was 26. In June 1976, Assunta had her first child Fatma. Initially, she wanted to have the baby in Sicily, but then Mamma Bellavia came to Brussels for the birth.

Of course, it was some time before the Bellavia family got used to the idea of marriage with a Moroccan, but the marriage was accepted without too much difficulty — not in the least because of his education. Curiously enough, it was not the brother and sister who lived in Sicily or the mother who saw problems with the marriage but rather Teresa and her husband, who lived in Venezuela. Some of the uncles in Sicily did let it be known that they did not approve, but that was of no importance for the mother, sister, and brother there.

In Assunta's home, it was mostly Abdel's fellow students from Morocco who visited, but Abdel understood that Assunta wanted to visit her

Sicilian *paisani* now and then, and he had no objections at all when she would go to visit once a week the Alùs, a typical Sicilian family who lived nearby, where he had once visited with Assunta and by whom he was welcome. As far as he was concerned, Assunta could visit them now and then even when he did not go with her.

The Alù family was Sicilian, though not from Caltanissetta but from a small village in the Province of Agrigento. This family had emigrated to Brussels in 1963, ten years before Assunta came, and had settled just outside of the quasi-ghetto and remained there. At the time of their move, the ages of the Alù children were 15, 14, 12, 9, 5, and 2. Assunta was a good friend of the mother of the family. She knew that Assunta had obtained a diploma of assistant social worker in Sicily, and she liked to talk about the problem she was having with her youngest son and about the other smaller and larger problems with a number of the other children.

At the time of their emigration, the two eldest Alù daughters were 15 and 14 years of age, respectively. They married soon thereafter, the first with a Sicilian man from the *paisi*, and the other with a Belgian. The next two Alù children, a boy and a girl, were 12 and 9 years old. For the boy, the continuation in the Brussels school was an insurmountable handicap. At the age of 14, he went to work in a Jesuit school in Brussels as a dishwasher together with a number of other Sicilians. At the age of 20, he married a Flemish girl. The other child, a girl, was 9 at the time of the emigration. After primary school, she attended six years of technical secondary schooling. Initially, she felt a great deal of resistance against the Belgian school and Belgian friends, but this gradually disappeared. While the two eldest daughters were actually first-generation immigrants because they had been educated in Sicily, the third and fourth children were of the second generation but not in the same pronounced degree as the two youngest children, aged 5 and 2, who were completely educated in Belgium.

The next to the last child, a girl, who was 5 years old when the family emigrated to Belgium, was particularly "Belgian" until her third year of secondary school (commercial). After a failure in school, which may have been a cause or may have been an effect, she underwent a major change: she took on a permanently negative attitude toward Belgians and everything Belgian and only associated with Sicilians. At the age of 20, she married a Sicilian man who had just arrived in Belgium. The youngest, a boy, who was 2 years old at the time of the emigration, left

school at the age of 14 after having failed a year (2 or 3 minor course failures) in technical school and after registering in a trade school where his attendance was very sporadic. He became an extreme "Sicilian", and regularly displayed it in the bars of the quasi-ghetto. He began to display a number of behavioral forms that manifest social marginalization. He was a young man full of illusions, who tried to achieve great success immediately without taking account of what could or may be done. Mrs. Alù was very concerned about him and would repeatedly ask Assunta Bellavia, whom she respected a great deal, for advice. Assunta would try to place the situation in perspective by pointing out how the children of her brother Mario in Switzerland caused their parents a great deal of concern now and then and how they were even very cold and distant towards their grandmother, Mamma Bellavia, when she had visited them in Switzerland, not at all like the children of her brother Michele in Sicily. Assunta and Mrs. Alù did not solve the problems in this way but they did find some mutual support, as they would in a *vicinatu*.

But Assunta did not remain in Brussels. She agreed with her husband to spend a short trial period in Morocco after he completed his studies. When it appeared that she would have difficulties living there, they began to look for a way to return to Belgium. Her husband could have a job with a Belgian company in Morocco but not in Belgium. Abdel ruled out Sicily as a place to live. In 1979, Abdel and Assunta sold their possessions in Morocco and with Fatma moved definitively to Montreal, Canada. Some of Abdels former Moroccan classmates had found jobs there as engineers.

Mamma Bellavia, who is afraid to ride in an elevator alone, has traveled the world over the years: Venezuela, Switzerland, Belgium, Morocco. Only her daughter Anna is still in Brussels. When Mamma Bellavia reviews with her sister Elvira the names of all the *paisani* and other acquaintances who live near a son or daughter, the list is long with place names in foreign languages. But the names of some *paisani* from the quarter recur regularly, now in a conversation about Brussels, again in a conversation about Zurich or Montreal. Mamma Bellavia tries to keep up with everything as well as possible, because, after all, the family is the reality.

Chapter 7
Immigration and the Socio-Cultural Praxis in the First Generation

1. Sicily versus Its Emigrants

The emigration is based on a number of economic and historical forces. It would not be contradictory to argue that these forces reinforce the pressure for enhancement of respect in the *paisi*. In Sicily, beginning in the early 1970s, emigration could no longer be attributed to simple economic necessity. The subjective image of the future host country plays at least as strong a role. A psycho-social model is generated in which emigration suggests a possible way out of what is experienced as a problem situation by an individual or a family and in which economic welfare is generally only one factor among many. Initially, the economic is a necessary and sufficient condition for emigrating, on the condition, of course, that a suitable host country is available. Once, however, that a sufficiently large number of people have left the region, the economic generally is still a necessary — though less compelling — condition but no longer a sufficient condition.

In the Sicilian *paisi*, particularly in the somewhat larger centers, three views on emigration and emigrants can be distinguished. Indeed, the emigrants' perception of emigration cannot simply be generalized as being the perception of all Sicilians.

One group consists of the relatives who remained behind and the emigrants who returned. For them, emigration is a fundamental Sicilian reality, Sicily being synonymous with emigration. One emigrates because one is a Sicilian and because there is not enough work in Sicily or no chance for a future for people who cannot get the necessary recommendations. These are people who come from the lower socio-economic classes, simple agricultural workers or less skilled workers or small craftsmen who can no longer compete with the supermarkets and stores. Or it may be because of their children, even though they might have been able to earn diplomas in the years after 1965.

Another group consists of people, particularly from the larger *paisi*, who belong to the same socio-economic class but who have never emigrated themselves or have no near relatives who have emigrated. They are generally quite skeptical about the emigrants, although they recognize that most of those they knew anything about went abroad to find work. But they accuse the emigrants of not having kept up with the times and of giving Sicily a bad image abroad, which is apparent when they return on vacation. Emigration is not seen as a good thing. When this group depicts the image of emigration on the *chiazza*, it is done on the basis of the least representative situations and very negatively.

Finally, there is a third group, the socially higher classes. They know that there are emigrants. They consider it unfortunate for these "*poveracci*" ("poor devils"), but there is not much that can be done. On the *chiazza*, if they go there in July and August, they certainly have nothing to do with the emigrants.

As regards the first group, to which the emigrants themselves belong, one may not think in terms of a monolithic or static image. They are people who live for years in Sicily "with emigration in mind", without ever emigrating. And there are people who suddenly, in a few days time, decide to emigrate, without every having mentioned it before. The relatives who stay behind sometimes live in a constant "emigration climate", even though they know that they will stay. There are people who, as they grow older, spend months in their country of origin alternating with months in the host country. There are mothers who visit their children for a number of weeks at a time, now in one host country, then in another. In Brussels as well as in Sicily, one can meet Sicilian "guest workers" whose actual emigration began in the distant past, people whose grandfathers or fathers worked in the USA or in Venezuela in the beginning of the century, who have brothers or sisters in Venezuela, Great Britain, or Canada, or who themselves have worked for a time in Switzerland, France, or West Germany before marrying a girl from their village who had returned on vacation to Sicily from Great Britain.

In Sicily, there are villages where, during the months of July and August, one hears Sicilian intermingled with English (Sutera), French (Sommatino), or German (Delia) on the *chiazza*.

2. The First Generation: Between the Host Country, the Country of Origin, and the Second Generation

In Chapters 3 and 4 above, it was abundantly clear that Sicilian honor and respect, key elements in the Sicilian cultural code, are less passive than the English term "honor" might connote. They concern being relationally oriented to others in a posture of challenging and being challenged. Competitiveness is implied, certainly for "respect". Together with the socio-moral status (*stima* or esteem), the "economic" respect linked to emigration is the area in which the structural matrix of the social existence with its elements of challenging and being challenged is most clearly manifested in Sicily. From the structural-geographical point of view, the *chiazza* is the core of the social life in Sicily for the men, across the segregation line, while for the women the core, which is not social but familial, is the nuclear family, and the social life is lived within the segregation line, though in a milder form, in the *vicinatu*.

In a segregated manner, both the *chiazza* and the *vicinatu* reveal what they have in common, which is the formal interaction between families and the relationship of the individual to the *paisi*. What, then, is the impetus of the interfamily relations in the village?

It is the task of the adult male to act on the *chiazza* in such a way that he (and thus also his family) is more than the other in order to assure that he is certainly not less than the other, the object being that they both are, if possible, equal to each other. However, he must not want to be a *prepotenti* (arrogant and bossy). His wife is also occupied with this task, though less obviously, within the *vicinatu*, and she, too, may not go too far.

Challenging and the experience of being challenged form the matrix of the interpersonal relationships between adults in the central public spaces, the *chiazza* and the *vicinatu*, in Sicily, and especially on the *chiazza* between the men. This formal matrix is also imposed on the children within the home, particularly the boys, but with a view to later interfamily relations and not for the later relationships within the home itself. The question then is what happens to this structural matrix with emigration. And the question that immediately follows: What happens to the domestic space, the area of the women, with emigration?

With the formal matrix of challenging and being challenged and with the diagram of the *paisi* in mind, our thesis for the Sicilian emigration to

the countries of Nortwestern Europe — and probably also for the broader Mediterranean phenomenon — on the first generation level is that a characteristic tension arises and endures between the male respect that remains oriented to the country of origin and the female domestic space that becomes increasingly oriented to the host country.

For the Sicilian emigrant, what is the group with respect to which he situates himself in his drive for respect, for socio-economic fulfilment once he has arrived with his family in a host country? What competition takes place fundamentally among the immigrants? In other words, where is the ideal and/or geographical *chiazza*?

There are indications that the group in which the emigrants, particularly the men, continue to recognize themselves on the first-generation level is the *paisi* and the *chiazza* left behind in Sicily and particularly the group of acquaintances, friends, and relatives, who are sympathetic to emigration, and *la gente* — the critical public at large — from the same social milieux, who have less appreciation of emigration. The struggle not to be inferior there, with them, moreover, is manifested every year or every couple of years in a fixed refrain during the vacation. At least once, and preferably as soon as possible, the trip back home has to be made by car.

Is there, then, no "integration" in the place where one has found work and a place to live? Does not one or another *circulu* (circle of friends) or bar replace the former *chiazza*? And for others is it not the workplace that takes on a number of the cultural roles that belong in Sicily to the *chiazza* for the men and to the *vicinatu* for the women?

But neither the bar nor the *circulu* can be a true *chiazza*. This is, perhaps, the most obvious when one sees that place that is assigned to the possession of a home in Sicily, even after years of residence abroad. On the first generation level, the parents (particularly the father) want to demonstrate their increased economic prosperity or heightened personal independence, i.e., their respect, particularly with respect to the *paisani* they left behind. And this is often done in a way that appears completely irrational to outsiders.

Although the *chiazza* often remains located in Sicily and a home in Sicily is generally the concrete goal to be striven for, this does not keep the *real* domestic space from being transferred to the host country after a few years if the immigration policy of the host country permits it. Immediately after 1945 with the first contingents of Sicilian emigrants, it often happened that an emigrant would leave his wife behind in the

village (the "white widows"), but this system never lasted very long, and it sometimes seemed easier to leave the children with the grandparents than to leave the wife alone with the children in the village.

A characteristic tension and dichotomy arises on the level of the first generation. One emigrates for reasons of respect, but in practice this respect is to be manifested primarily in Sicily and only to a lesser degree in Belgium, for it is also a question of means. But, curiously enough, when one is actually in Sicily, on vacation or definitively, one often uses symbols and characteristics from Belgium to achieve this respect. In other words, the mental orientation of immigrants on vacation in Sicily is toward Belgium. The same tension occurs in the relationship to the domestic space. Spontaneously in the culture, one would prefer to leave one's wife in Sicily, but in practice she joins her husband, and the domestic space is transferred to Belgium. In the meantime, however, both the husband and the wife, and particularly the husband, have in mind the establishment of the domestic space in Sicily in the form of a new or refurnished house "for later". What is involved is not so much the concern for the domestic space in Sicily and probably also not so much the "for later" but rather the achievement of respect in the eyes of the *paisani*, particularly for the man. The wife is generally less interested in this new house in Sicily because a house for her is primarily a real domestic space and that is located in Belgium.

This leads to an apparently paradoxical situation, which can be sketched as follows: the husband, who is more integrated into the host country, tends to be more interested than the wife in expressing his success in terms of a house in Sicily and, in a number of cases, but thereby not yet a logically necessary consequence, of a plan to return to Sicily. The less integrated wife is less concerned about public opinion in Sicily and more with definitive establishment in Belgium. The husband is preoccupied with the locus of the respect and of the Sicilian *chiazza* in his life; the wife is preoccupied with the locus of the domestic space. This is the characteristic tension in the first generation. It is inherent and fundamental to the cultural gestalt of the Sicilian *paisi*.

To speak about the first generation without noting its relationship to the second generation and vice versa in the domestic space would, however, be very unrealistic. What happens in the home in the host country as a result of the processes described above?

In the next chapter, we will note that the immigrant parents can be perceived ambiguously by their second-generation children, for they

unwittingly communicate to their children a number of contradictory signals. The parents, each in their own manner, build up their culture of origin and dismantle it at the same time. While the mother seems to be most "objectively" linked to the culture of origin, she is the least interested in returning to it; the father, who seems to be the most "objectively" adjusted to the host country, continues to refer the most to the country of origin and is the most ready to begin to speak at a certain time of returning to it.

It is widely accepted that first-generation immigrants live in one culture, namely that of the home country, and that the second-generation lives between two cultures. However, analysis of the socio-cultural praxis of the first generation reveals this to be an oversimplification. With just as much and perhaps more justification, one can say that the first-generation immigrants actually live *in* as well as *between* the two cultures, be it in a very dynamic, ambiguous, and even sometimes hesitant way. The apparently and actually more integrated man remains more attached to his country of origin and continues to live there mentally and culturally. The apparently and actually less integrated woman attached herself primarily to the host country and mentally separates herself much more easily from the country of origin. Although the experience of the second-generation immigrant is complex, it does not detract from the fact that he, because he lives cognitively integrally in the host country, "knows" a simpler objective reality since he generally and even from early childhood on succeeds in keeping the two systems separate (school = host country; home = towards the culture of origin). This is not to say that the existence of these two cultural systems does not confront the school with a special task or that no cognitive or emotional problems will ensue for the child. If the image of the second generation sometimes gives rise to "emotional" or "dramatic" overtones, this is caused not only by the educational system generally taking little account of it but also by the first generation projecting its ambiguity and hesitations, which are inherent in their project itself, onto the second generation. And this occurs at the age when this second generation is being socialized.

The first generation immigrant was socialized in one culture, that of the origin, and his now resilient and then hesitant socio-cultural praxis between the two cultures is situated, after the immigration, in the host country. The second generation is socialized on the basis of the resilience and hesitancy between two cultures that are typical of the first

generation and must construct its cultural identity on it. Meanwhile, the school, an element beyond the experience of the parents, can complicate this process.

3. The Socio-Cultural Concretization of the First Generation in Genk and Brussels

The immigrant is not the only actor in the realization of his possibilities. The concrete structure and the availability of residential areas in the host country also determine the possibilities and the limits of socio-cultural praxis in the host country,[1] certainly during the first few years when the immigrant has to cope with orientation problems. We have in mind here particularly the twilight zones, the quasi-ghettos, and the housing estates, the places where the immigrant usually lives for the first few years after his arrival.

Simplifying the events in a sense, one can speak of a double barrier, even though the static notion of a barrier does not match the dynamic reality. But in some respects, the metaphor of two barriers can clarify the situation (see Chapter 8 below, where we take up again the discussion of the continuity/discontinuity between the second and the first generation). This metaphor indicates that a certain "objective" Sicilian culture, a more or less stable core of relationships and symbols in which the immigrant was socialized in his country of origin, continues to be operative in the host country, while structures and new elements, which have their own dynamic and their own socialization strategies that differ essentially from those of the Sicilian culture, are presented from the host country. Indeed, the two systems are not simple extensions of each other and sometimes conflict in particular points.

The two barriers screen off the two cultural sytems, the norms and self-evident elements of which are accessible to each other neither in equal degrees nor equally profoundly, particularly in their relationship to their respective standard cultures and in the impact of these cultures on experienced values. The specific immigrant family culture and the social control of the *paisani* among themselves over the extra-domestic expression of these traditional values (the first barrier) fit with the culture of origin, while the host-country culture (the second barrier), with all necessary qualifications, is concretized in the work place, through the contacts with the public administration, and in school.

Integration means then the convergence of the two barriers, particularly on the level of the immigrant and autochthon extra-family cultures, with the preservation of the quality and of the social prestige of the autochthon institutions. What happens on the level of the "intimate" culture is here less relevant and generally is a function of other processes. One can speak of a *negation of integration* when the realities that are screened off by the two barriers do not converge in any significant respect. There can also be *pseudo-integration* or integration into a marginal autochthon reality when the convergence of the two barriers proceeds with or after loss of the social prestige and of the quality of the autochthon institutions involved.

In Chapter 5, four residential areas or reception models were presented that originated in particular phases of the history of immigration but that also generally stand for particular phases from the life career of a Mediterranean immigrant. Globally, these reception models concern socio-moral spaces that, in time, create a particular cultural and human living climate for those who live in them. What form does the question of integration and non-integration take here? How does "respect" interfere?

In the *housing estates* is situated the most traditional and most economically determined immigration, but this is related to the fact that it is in Genk, a coal-mining town in Limburg, and not in Brussels. Historically, as far as Sicilian immigration is concerned, it dates from between 1950 and 1960. These are people with a common background as agricultural laborers or sulfur miners in Sicily and who are coal miners in Belgium, which generates a unique kind of solidarity. At present in Genk, an evolution is taking place whereby the second generation is clearly becoming the predominant generation. The first generation of Sicilian immigrants has either returned to Sicily or has decided to settle permanently in Genk. This "definitive" establishment is stabilizing, and one may expect, with the dynamics of the second generation, an increased orientation — in principle, however, of a revendicatory kind — to the autochthons.

In the Brussels situation, there is more variety, more movement, less stability. We will discuss in turn the situations in a quasi-ghetto, a twilight zone, and a "better" second-integration zone.

In a *quasi-ghetto*, there settles a population that occupied a clearly marginal place in society already in Sicily. The quality of the housing leaves a great deal to be desired. The domestic space of the women is

typically temporary. Because of the predominance of a number of negative social characteristics, no female *vicinatu* develops. For the man, employment is extremely precarious. To a considerable extent, we have, at least for a good part of Kuregem between 1965 and 1975, a continuation of the marginal life in Sicily with an interaction between the situation in Sicily and that in Brussels. This interaction was stronger than the respective relationships in the surrounding neighborhoods, both in Brussels and in Sicily. The social existence, again in Brussels and in Sicily, at least for these people, was that of an "immigrant" in the marginalized sense of "without steady work" and ethnically "marginal" by being "Sicilian". This is a reality among the Sicilian immigrants in Brussels, but, while not insignificant, it is neither generalizable nor the most representative. From the beginning of the 1980s, socially marginal Moroccan and Turkish immigrants have also moved into this small district.

More representative for Brussels is the *twilight zone*. Because of the multi-ethnic interruptions, one would not expect a female *vicinatu* to develop. Still, something similar to it can develop if jobs of the sort that are typical for immigrant women can be found in the neighborhood or in the immediate vicinity. To the extent that the reason for immigration is purely economic or more vaguely social, the immigrant will live, more or less, with plans to return, and this has a dominating influence on his attitude to his work, his residence, and his local consumption. In Brussels, such a neighborhood is characterized by an exceptionally high rate of moves within the neighborhood itself. Moreover, such a neighborhood is a socio-culturally diversified transition neughborhood because, in the confusing mixture, people live there who intend to return to Sicily or to move to a second-integration zone after a time or who live in a state of indecision without a clear plan.

In the case of a quasi-ghetto, one can speak of a pseudo-integration. In the case of a twilight zone, a distinction must be made between those who live in a pseudo-integration and those who are en route toward real integration.

A *second-integration* zone often serves as the model for successful integration. It generally represents a dismantling of the extra-domestic dimensions of the culture of origin, which may or not be accompanied by pressure on the intradomestic ethnic characteristics. In the second-integration zone, the immigrant group effaces its own ethnic characteristics as much as possible and tries to appropriate the exterior autochthon

characteristics up to a certain point. But this need mean nothing at all for the internal domestic space to which the Sicilian life is then reduced and where Sicilian values are often intensified. The increasing importance of the domestic space leads to a matrifocal orientation. The woman receives more power there than in the other situations, and she does not readily surrender this power, and certainly not when she helps support the family, which is often the case.

What is the most difficult to grasp through all of this is the *process of change*. What happens to those involved over time?

In terms of time, there almost always occurs in the first instance a moment at which the process of immigration reduces the immigrant culturally to a position of passivity. This is the reason why one may not underrate the importance of reception models, which launch the immigrant on his way within a socio-moral climate after the trauma of uprooting, which can often last up to two or three or even five years. The immigrant must adapt to the climate as well as to the food, the working and urban rhythms, to the lack of the former social support network, and so on. Therefore, for first generation, one may speak of temporary destructuration. Changes can occur here in the motivation for emigration, and the socio-moral climate in the reception model is not without importance in this regard. In Chapter 10 below, we will discuss a case of limited collective creativity whereby Sicilian immigrants give a total answer to the jolting experience of uprooting in the initial years of their immigration by joining the Jehovah's Witnesses, which is a small but, in terms of process, a quite interesting group.

After the initial years, however, there soon develops the current socio-cultural praxis of the Sicilian immigrants. It is a history that repeatedly witnesses to a rather diversified dynamic that must be viewed both in terms of the cultural gestalt of the *paisi* of origin and in terms of the host country as actor.

On the level of the first generation, we have also observed the creation of several forms of particular immigrant cultures, four of which we have described briefly above. These are models that cannot simply be set equivalent to the cultural code in Sicily or, of course, to the "official" culture of the host country. Nor are they streamlined mixed forms of these two dominant cultures.

Between these forms of particular immigrant cultures, specific movements are possible that concern the place of those involved in the history of the immigration, the motivation for it and the later possible changes in

that motivation, the interpretation of social promotion (host-country or country-of-origin oriented), the confrontation that arises between "male" and "female" standpoints in immigration (respect versus domestic space), the thrusting forward of the second generation, and the attractiveness of the autochthon world. Here is situated the problem of discrimination and of the structural retardation, which is perhaps expressed the most clearly in the cycle of residential area, education, job market, residential area, education, and so on.

An important factor is that the first-generation immigrant himself sees moving to a "better district", i.e., a "second-integration zone", as the most realistic means of breaking out of this vicious circle of discrimination. Indeed, after about ten years in the host country, many first-generation immigrants either return to their country of origin (a minority) or begin to look for a "better" house, which is then sought in what, after a time, begins to look like a second-integration zone.

Chapter 8
The Fragmenting Creativity of the Second Generation

It is extremely difficult to formulate general statements about the second generation. Variables such as parental attitudes, age, type of education, later job situation, and future prospects have their relative importance. In Chapter 7, we pointed out two important elements that lie at the foundation of the typical image of the problem of the second generation: the socio-cultural praxis of the first generation and the school. To elaborate on this statement, we will first review the specific immigration career of a second generation youth. We still examine the situation that has become the most common in Belgium today, which is by and large representative for what is happening in the immigration countries of Northwestern Europe. We realize, of course, that some serious efforts are underway to improve the context. Then, in the second part of this chapter, we shall try to present from within the position of the second generation as a specific socio-cultural praxis.

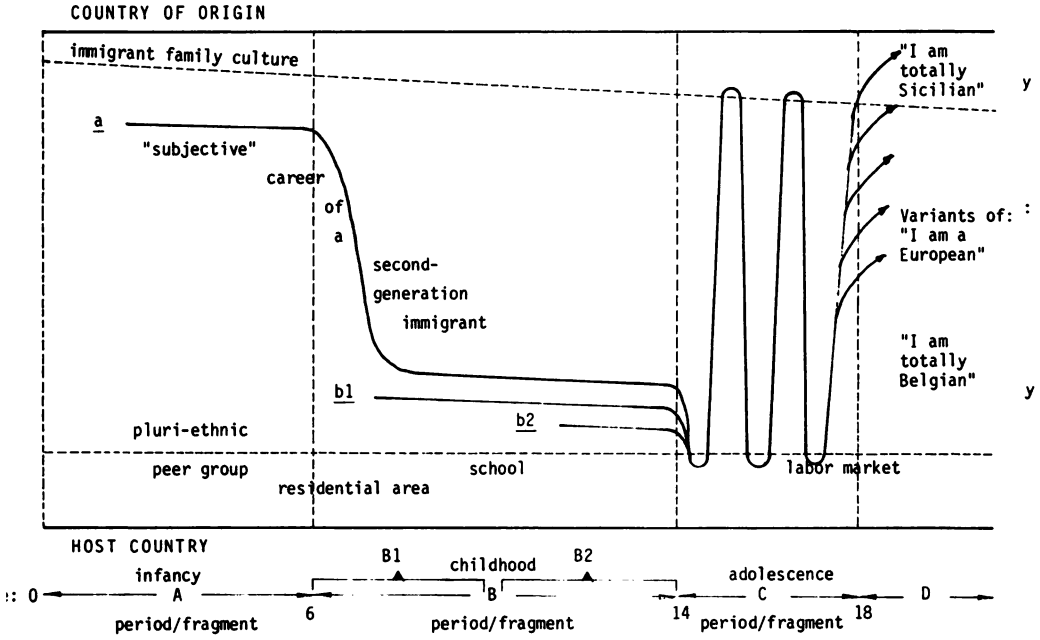
1. The Immigration Career of the Second-Generation Youth

Phases can be distinguished that lead later to fragments of identity, and so can be expressed schematically.

As Figure 3 shows, the immigrant child actually only lives completely in the country of origin before his arrival in the host country. As soon as the child comes to the host country, it moves along two tracks: the specific immigrant culture that refers to the country of origin, i.e., the socio-cultural praxis of the first generation as it is expressed in family life, and the multi-cultural reality of the residential area with its components that refer to the host country, i.e., the school and, later, the place of work and the local administration. The two tracks are determined by the double barrier discussed above with reference to the first generation.

Before the age of 5 or 6 years old, the child lives primarily in a system that refers to the country of origin. Between 5 or 6 and 14, roughly the

Figure 3



(The start of the lines a, b1 and b2 gives the age of arrival in the host country.)
(An individual who arrives in adolescence is considered a first-generation immigrant.)

Legend (°)

A = 0 to 5-6 years old: Infancy (0 - 2½ years old) and early childhood (2½ - 5-6 years old)
B = 5-6 to 14 years old:
B1: 5-6 - 10 years old
B2: 10 - 14 years old =
Childhood
C = 14 to 18 years old =
Adolescence
D = older than 18 years =
Young adulthood

a = a second-generation immigrant child who was born in the host country or who arrived in infancy or early childhood.
b1 = a second-generation immigrant child who arrived in the host country in the B 1 period
b2 = a second-generation immigrant child who arrived in the host country in the B 2 period.

(°) The ages indicated to distinguish the individual stages are approximative and are not to be considered precise data.

period of elementary education, the system of references to the host country predominates normatively, while the enculturation system (0 to 5 or 6 years old) remains present but in the background (outside of school). From the age of 14 to 18 for the girls and for the boys slightly longer, the second-generation immigrant lives in a transition period between the elementary school and the later job market (and marriage), which is also a phase for proximal preparation for adult life. Toward the end of the adolescent phase, a new, more or less stable system is sought, which is supported by the earlier scolarization, but in this new system, family values such as those that always applied at home and new social perspectives must be able to be reconciled.

Most second-generation immigrants perceive themselves with a double reference, both to the country of origin and to the host country, or they will appeal to an overarching reference. It is not anomy, not "I-don't-know-who-I-am", that is typical for a certain psychologizing dramatization of the problem of the second-generation. What is typical is their fragmenting creativity. With this the second-generation youth are exponents of a very normal socio-cultural event that goes back to a reality within the family and to interaction between the family and the school.

Before discussing the phases of the immigrant career of the second-generation youth, we would note that Figure 3 shows that, with the limitations and qualifications in mind, each second-generation immigrant, i.e., each immigrant who has been educated for a number of years before his 14th birthday in the host country, and particularly those who arrived in the host country before the age of 6, has already experienced two subjective, socio-cultural "migrations" before marriage, one of them at a very early age. The first is from the Sicilian family to the Belgian school; the second is from the Belgian school to the Sicilian family and neighborhood. The periods that are delineated by these "migrations" lead, each in turn, to fragments of specific symbols and relations.

A. The period of the dominance of the particular immigrant culture (Infancy and Early Childhood)

There is a trend in a certain school of German sociological literature[1] to reduce the problem of the second generation primarily to this period of infancy and early childhood. We instead would opt, in the line of Figure

3 above, for a typical succession of three very specific periods: infancy and early childhood (0 to 6 years), childhood (6 to 14 years), and adolescence (14 to 18 years). We would immediately add, however, that the first period is a phase in which the double oriented socio-cultural praxis of the parents colors the raising of the children, in the same way as a double orientation is presented to the youth in adolescence by the tension between the host country and the praxis of the parents. But by the time the child has reached adolescence, the values of the host country have already been incorporated, so that the influence of the parents diminishes.

When the German sociologists argue that, statistically, the pre-school children and the infants are, socially and culturally, particularly vulnerable, they point to another factor, i.e., the absence of solid mono-enculturation at this age, which would be of critical importance later on, leading to the negative consequences that are manifested in early adulthood.

Although we do not want to assign the exclusive importance for the second-generation phenomenon to infancy and early childhood, this period is still not to be undervalued for three reasons: the influence of the condition of immigration and of uprooting during infancy and early childhood, the double orientation and hesitations in the praxis of the parents, and the lack of mono-enculturation in the child (for example, by the influence of pre-school initiatives).

A child who is enculturated completely in the country of origin, shares with the autochthon child a coherent basic structure: the lines of orientation of the peer group and of the family intersect each other continually within one and the same subculture. We are not going to consider this child here.

The child who arrived in the host country in infancy or is born in the host country and the child who is uprooted in early childhood have in common that their enculturation in the family and their enculturation in the peer group diverge for at least a part. For them, there are two fragments from different cultures: a fragment of the Sicilian immigrant-family culture and a pluri-ethnic fragment in the peer group. Moreover, this is complicated by the double orientation and the hesitations in the socio-cultural praxis of the parents.

A great deal depends on the way in which the nuclear family succeeds in stabilizing itself during the early immigration period or at what point in the immigration career of the parents the child is born, either at the beginning or later on.

In an extensive article, Paola Faina insists repeatedly that the immigration of itself can have a negative effect on the emotional relationship of the mother and the small child.[2] When the Sicilian mother goes out to work, which is common in the twilight and the second-integration zone, she cannot, as in Sicily, call upon her relatives or the *vicinatu* to take care of the child. She can sometimes keep the eldest daughter home from school to take care of the baby or have it live for a few years with its grandparents in Sicily. Ordinarily, the latter solution is far from ideal in the long run, for, in the Sicilian culture, there is a slightly inflammable and not always latent tension between the wife and her mother-in-law, and the child, who is raised first by one and then by another, can be used later on as a pawn between them. In addition, adaptation difficulties can arise between the parent and the child or between the child and its brothers and sisters. When the mother does not work outside the home, her isolation can easily lead her to be overprotective of her child.

While one may often speak of overprotective immigrant mothers, the inverse can be the case for the Sicilian immigrant father. It could be that this phenomenon is not strictly linked to immigration alone but is also a product of life in a large city. Anna Oliverio Ferraris has pointed out that studies of children's drawings show that the immigrant child is afraid of the dissolution of a well-structured form of family life and that the father figure seems to suffer a great loss of importance in the large cities, at least in his role with respect to the child.[3] We do not want to get involved here in the debate on the interpretation of children's drawings, although we are of the opinion that observations such as those made by Anna Oliverio Ferraris, are of value apart from any interpretation, for they concern some of the rare direct communications that we can even expect from a child. Of course, the drawings generally used are from older children and not from early childhood, as is also the case in our own study (see below), but we would note that the father figure is forgotten in many drawings by the child in the large city situation, where many immigrant districts are situated, and that there, too, the self-representation of the child often is lacking. The origin of this phenomenon is very probably situated in early childhood. Paola Faina concluded her discussion on the importance of the parent-child relationship among young immigrant children with a reference to F. Medioli Cavara:[4] "Significant in this context seems to be a fact that was revealed in a psychodynamic study of immigrant children, namely, the high percentage of suppression of self-representations of the children in the projective drawings of the

family. It must be noted that the cited study refers to the internal immigration in (Italy)."

Of course, these are statements that have to be supported by appropriate and precise observations. Nevertheless, on the basis of our participant observation, we consider it probable that, in modal Sicilian immigrant circles with regard to first-generation parents, the mothers have a tendency to be overprotective, and the child experiences a relative absence of the father, clearly more than is the case in Sicily. This fits in with the cultural orientation of the father — away from the host country and towards the *paisi* of origin — and with the increasing importance that, although ordinarily less integrated, the mother attaches to the domestic space, without a *vicinatu*, in the host country.

We would stress for the first phase from O to 5 or 6 that the uncertainties of the parents, both objective and subjective (for example, about returning or not, about integrating into the host country or not, about housing, about work, about the relationships with the family in Sicily, and about the internal role division between them), have repercussions on the emotions that are communicated to the child. Although there is not a perfect correspondence between enculturation and language acquisition, it is obvious that these two realities are related. Too much subjective or objective insecurity and excessive protection can lead to an inadequate appropriation of the surrounding reality by the child, and one may expect that this is equivalent in early childhood with a deficit in the first attempts to form concepts and vice versa. Often this will have effects at the beginning of scolarization in childhood.

We note, too, that the Sicilian family in the immigrant situation in comparison with the family in Sicily is subject to contraction of its natural context and that the internal role division between its members is open to changes and shifts in function. It is not a Sicilian fragment that the child is enculturated into as in Sicily, but rather a quasi-Sicilian fragment.

B. The period of the dominance of the autochthon social values: Childhood

This is the period of the elementary scolarization of the child or the time when the child encounters, on the basis of a particular immigrant culture as it is transferred within the family by the first generation to the child, the living, pluri-ethnic reality in school and through it also the autoch-

thon structures. It is the age at which people are formed socially in a definitive manner. This could seem too obvious to even mention, but it is often forgotten when immigrant children are involved.

The events of the primary scolarization, which, in our opinion, is a critical period for a good understanding of the specificity of the second generation, contains a number of important components.

First and foremost, the school means that the society, for the first time, comes with a package of non-subjective norms. If this encounter fails, then a fundamental link to the society fails. Later this means the society as lawgiver, as employer, as institution (including also marriage and the family).

Then the school is generally pluri-ethnic, and this does not facilitate the didactic task for teachers in the concrete.

Before developing a number of theses on this age period, we would first like to discuss briefly the most common concepts about it. It is contended that the child in the primary school experiences an encounter or a conflict between two cultures and two language systems. It should be added that the child actually experiences a reality *sui generis,* a reality that is simultaneously both simpler and more complex. Consciously, the child experiences a simple multi-cultural child's world based on autochthon structures, but with the added burden, unconscious for the child, that this happens in a more content-poor but formally more sharply delineated traditional nuclear family.

The image evoked is that of a balance. On the one side is the world that was important for the child up until that time, i.e., the world of its home. On the other side lies the world that the child begins to discover, the Belgian multi-cultural world, that ever increases in importance and that is also felt by the parents to be threatening to their own identity to a degree.

During the day, it is no longer the home but the school that plays the most important role, and the child, for most of the day, finds itself on the side, the school, that is not in continuity with his home. Here, the second-generation phenomenon, which receives its first impetus between the ages of 0 and 5 or 6, is reinforced. Very specifically, at a vulnerable age the spatial and the temporal differentiation along two creative tracks now develops in the conviction that the "home" component (the former authority pole) is less important than the "school-society" component (the new authority poles). We would prefer the thesis that the child creates a multinomic reality to the not really

incorrect thesis that the child lives in two worlds because multinomy denotes less the existence of two worlds completely segregated in concrete practice and also because it is less static.

1. THE FIRST THESIS: MULTINOMY (FROM THE AGE OF 7 UNTIL ADOLESCENCE)

The problem is usually formulated as follows: the second generation distances itself from the culture and from the social relationship framework of the parents. In fact, this is not something that these children consciously want to do, but something that happens to them, or better, a process that takes place through them. They create multinomously and, for themselves, apparently at random. But, one may not forget that a socio-economic factor is added: these are children of unskilled workers without a literate culture. At home the children are not strongly stimulated or assisted in the development of a number of their expressive skills. Having this problem in common — multinomy with a lack of both assistance and stimulation of expressiveness — unites the immigrant children across their cultural and ethnic differences.

What, then, is precisely this process that "happens" to them? It concerns the development of a diversified basic structuration, the result of the constant balancing between two fundamentally antinomic realities without the socio-cultural praxis of the parents intervening in a way that could clarify it for the child. These two antinomic realites are complex and dynamic. First, there is the home, the space of origin for every child, where the values and norms are interiorized. Then there is the school that, in contrast to the home, represents society and of which the values and norms, although they do orient the child, remain exterior to the first "domestic" socialization component. The fact that the school and the society generate expectations for the future gives them special importance in the eyes of the children. The school, of course, stands for considerably more than only a package of "knowledge".

The depths of the problem of the antinomous reality may not be ignored, lest one obtain too superficial a view of the multinomy. By antinomic realities we understand not only the visible realities that any observer can perceive, such as the division of the roles or the organization and experience of authority, although of themselves they are important enough. It also concerns a number of implicitly transferred realities. There is ordering of space and dealing with time, linguistic

morphology, and the being oriented in the home exclusively to "looking" and a two-dimensional (present and past) "speaking" (we noted above the typical awareness of the future in the rural-village culture of the home country) versus the academic "reading" and "writing" and the more subtle academic "speaking". It need not surprise us at all that from time to time there will be some confusion in a child who is enculturated within one vision and acculturated within another while in the meantime at home the postulates of the enculturation system remain dominant. This is, by the way, not only a cultural but also a broader social problem with which autochthons from the lower classes also have to contend. The ethnic factor accentuates here only what occurs among the lower class autochthons.

The multinomy thus does not mean that a child enters into a complete vacuum. This means that a child has to interiorize norms originating from two different sub-systems, family and school, without these norms being mutually coherent. This can be at the source of a feeling of a lack of guidance and support, which apparently leads in a number of cases to suppression of the desire to perform and a certain degree of inhibition.

2. SECOND THESIS: THE CONFLICTS (FROM THE AGE OF 7 TO ADOLESCENCE)

Three levels can be distinguished, in each of which it is important to see how the child perceives it at this age: the domestic, sometimes contradictory, praxis of the parents, the socio-cultural praxis of the parents away from the family, and the social values in which the family is immersed as an alien element.

a. The parents as seen by the child in the family

The child passively experiences the cultural conflicts that can take place on the level of the parents. Thus, for example, if the mother, in the opinion of the father, is too often away from home and assumes too much freedom, and if this is interpreted in terms of latent infidelity. This is a problem that can also occur in early childhood, but which is experienced by the child more consciously during the elementary school years.

b. The parents as seen by the child outside the family

Conflicting perceptions of another kind can arise between the first and the second generation when parents and children perceive the same facts, the same values and the same structures in opposing ways. An example: visits to a bar by the father can be perceived in various ways by the children while the father sees it symbolically as a simple visit at the *chiazza* or of his friends without any reference to drunkenness.

c. The norms of the society as seen by the child

A number of seemingly banal things may not be underestimated on the level of the child, for example, the image that the child forms of what a school is, of what a village or city or country is, of who "the people on the street" are, the not belonging to the every-day normative street image, bearing a "foreign" family name (the given first name can be autochthonized), being a foreigner, having a father who is an unskilled worker, and having a mother who is "a bit behind times".

3. THIRD THESIS: THERE IS A BROAD RANGE OF RESPONSES POSSIBLE, FROM AGGRESSIVITY TO MIMICRY (FROM THE AGE OF 10 THROUGH ADOLESCENCE)

When a conflict is experienced by the child in an extreme manner and the child does not succeed in unifying the multinomy to a degree or, in other words, when we are dealing with a child with a rich emotional potential but who lacks achievable goals that could meaningfully direct an investment, then a broad range of responses is possible, the least socially acceptable of which being aggressivity. Many expressions of aggressive behavior among immigrant children are cries for help in creating their own identity. Positively, this aggressivity around the ages of 12 to 14 is a despairing attempt to call up the contours of one's own identity. Only there is always lacking the interiorized norm that could have come by the agency of the school (= society) or the family (= origin). If both fail, an emptiness occupies the place where interior cultural resistance should have been unless the peer group can intervene in a positive manner.

The child can search for support in a peer group, forming gangs or clubs. Glazer and Moynihan, writing about young Italian-Americans, note: "The children, finding a serious gap between themselves and their parents, tended to create groups of their own, with something of their own values, code, and morality. Thus, to the structure of the Italian-

American neighborhood was added a group known variously as the 'boys', the 'fellows', the 'club', the 'gang''.[6] This phenomenon can also be observed in European cities and is not limited to immigrant youth from Southern Europe. Such groups can be led by aggressive elements. The drive for mutual identity confirmation in the peer group need not, of itself, be negative. It can also take on positive dimensions, as is the case with many athletic and music groups.

The last type of response we call "mimicry". A youth will later on try to appropriate the autochthon peculiarities as he perceives them as representative of the most modern part of the surrounding society. Very often this involved objects, symbols, or behavioral modes that have ambiguous significance, such as flashy cars and video recorders, which must be possessed at all cost. It would be incorrect to see such objects and the cult around them only as prestige and consumption symbols among the immigrants. More than for the autochthon population, they are also attempts to become really a part of the society and not so much attempts to distinguish oneself within society by one or another striking object.

4. SOME FINDINGS IN SUPPORT OF THESES 1 AND 2

With the intention of making a number of formal and content statements that are directly concerned with the fragmenting creativity of the Sicilian immigrant children of the second generation, we performed a comparative analysis by means of the "draw-your-family" test given to school children between the ages of 9 and 12 year. The group was divided evenly over the four years.[7]

The same task was given to children from 9 to 12 years old from the immigrant districts in Caltanissetta (Puzziddu Quarter and Angeli Quarter) and in immigrant districts in Kuregem and Genk: "Draw your family on a piece of paper; draw the moment that first comes to you when you think about your family. You can draw whatever you like and whomever you like." Afterwards, the children were asked to write down what they drew and to indicate who each of the figures they drew were. The same task was given to control groups of autochthons and also immigrant children of other ethnic groups from comparable schools. In total, 721 drawings were analyzed, equally divided among the 9, 10, 11, and 12 year olds. There were 79 boys and 80 girls from Sicily, 65 Sicilian boys and 73 Sicilian girls from Genk, and 65 Sicilian boys and

91 Sicilian girls from Kuregem. The remaining drawings were made by the control groups.

The analyzed drawings we considered to be interviews where the child speaks spontaneously: "The drawing is ... comparable with the story. The language of the picture takes the place of the language of words, but the meaning is the same: communication and narrating."[8] However, one must keep in mind that children's drawings, of themselves, have a very low informative value,[9] and their value cannot be derived from a naively realistic reading.

Children's drawings can be understood on the basis of their form characteristics and also on the basis of a number of content elements that, as products of the childish phantasy, reveal concerns and preferences in the areas of interest to the child. As regards this point, Wayne Dennis argues for a value hypothesis. Analyzing children's drawings is an indirect method that contributes to an "understanding of the social values of any group".[10] We summarize here only those results that are important for our subject, restricting the discussion to a number of typical content elements.[11]

Paola Faina, who was cited above in the discussion of infancy and early childhood, has observed that a significant trend can be observed among immigrant children to present themselves comparatively less often than is the case with autochthon children. Taking all of the autochthon children together, those in Sicily as well as those in Belgium, and comparing them with all of the immigrant children, Sicilian as well as those of other ethnic groups, we have the following picture:

	Autochthon Children	Immigrant Children
0:	58	137
1:	256	268

$chi^2 = 21.101^{**}$ (df = 1)
Score 0: the child does not present itself.
Score 1: the child does present itself.

The following observation applies for the presentation of the family unit and structure. In Sicily, the most recurrent theme is the family sitting together around a table eating. This same theme is somewhat less frequent among the Belgian autochthon children, but still more often than among the immigrant children. It is striking how frequent the

Sicilian immigrant children place the TV set central in the drawing, with one or more family members watching it, which is certainly not to be ascribed to the fact that there would be fewer TV sets in Sicily. Television is watched in Sicily as much as in Belgium. Eating together at table is a rather rare event in the drawings of the immigrant children. The family unit and structure is more clearly presented in the drawings of the autochthon children, certainly in Sicily, than in those of the Sicilian immigrant children. Is this a result of the dual orientation and of the hesitations of the first generation and of the shift of accent to the extra domestic space in the second generation?

The most striking in this regard are the data presented on the following table in which the frequency of the scenes in which the entire family is eating together are compared with other scenes for the Sicilian children in Sicily and the Sicilian immigrant children in Brussels.

	Sicilians in Sicily	Sicilians in Brussels
0:	62	9
1:	97	147

$chi^2 = 49.785^{**}$ (df = 1)
Score 0: sitting together eating.
Score 1: other scenes.

One final observation about these drawings. It is always striking that the immigrant child presents his father and mother, when he does so, as being dressed very modernly. Never is there any trace of a Sicilian mother, grandmother, or aunt being dressed in black. In the children from other ethnic groups in the control group, moreover, no Turkish or Moroccan father or mother is presented in traditional dress, although this dress is often seen in homes and on the streets in Brussels and in Genk. References to the country of origin are also lacking among the immigrant children, except for the Turkish children. Refrigerators, TV sets, and telephones are often presented, but this is also the case for the autochthon children, both Sicilian and Belgian. All of this supports an interpretation that sees the scolarization period as an emotional shift among the immigrant children to the values of the host country.

We also noted this when we later on gave a number of these children a supplementary test. In Chapter 4, we mentioned that projective TAT plates were presented to a group of 30 Sicilian children, 10 and 11 years

old, in Sicily. In addition to a control group of 30 autochthon Belgian children in Brussels, there was another control group of Sicilian immigrant children in Brussels. Each group consisted of 15 boys and 15 girls, 10 and 11 years old. Plate No. 1, which shows a boy with a violin, should, according to George De Vos, allow us to arrive at a group comparison regarding the will to create something with a particular means or the concept of being able to do or not do something oneself. None of the 30 Sicilian children in Caltanissetta told a story depicting such a positive achievement. Nor did there appear a concern for being able to solve the problem with the help of an experienced older person. Six of the 30 simply stated that the violin was broken or that it did not work. Such negative fatalism was not presented by any of the 30 children from the autochthon control group or by any of the 30 Sicilian immigrant children in Brussels. Eleven of the 30 autochthon Brussels working-class children and 10 of the Sicilian immigrant children in Brussels told a story depicting positive achievement or a concern to achieve competence by means of the help of more experienced people. Among the Sicilian immigrant children, at least for what concerns the important social values of this plate, there is a shift to the social values of the host country, and this confirms the last observation made with regard to the children's drawings above.[12]

The question then, of course, is what this trend becomes as the children get older.

C. The orientation period: Adolescence

Adolescence begins with the graduation from the elementary school, and the advancement to secondary school. The immigrant youth generally attends a trade or technical school and gradually orients himself or herself to the job market and, in the case of the boy, tends to be associated in large measure with the peer group. Most of the girls are directed both by the school and by the parents towards trade school education that will be useful later on in the domestic sphere. The symbolic reference system of the primary school period continues to function while a later social position is already envisioned. In this phase, the parents become more expressly interested than formerly in the family and cultural values that they wish to see maintained by their children and particularly their daughters. Host country values via the school and the culture of origin via the socio-cultural praxis of the parents compete with

each other in the value orientation that the youth, strongly peer-group oriented, try to create.

In late adolescence, most begin to look for work. In the host country, the following integration mechanism is operative: residential area to education to labor market to residential area. Generally, the education is already determined by the residential area and the job situation of the parents. Of itself, these host country integration mechanisms are not specific either for the immigration or for the second generation, but in practice, they take the form of a strait jacket for social stratification whereby the ethnic becomes a social distinguishing factor for marginalizing stratification, certainly in times of severe economic crisis.

In adolescence, the young people wrestle with a very vital problem: will they, can they be accepted by the society? Wil the society confirm the identity image that the school (= future; = society) inculcated in them in opposition to their homes (=past; = origin)? This is a cultural question that fits into the normal adolescent crisis. For many, this is an explorative and explosive period, a period of questions to and answers from the society, a being tossed back and forth between the particular immigrant culture and the social and cultural values of the host country.

In terms of the three host-country integration mechanisms cited above, the following picture arises.

For the girl, the parents generally choose technical or trade-school secondary education, a course of study that is often prematurely abandoned because of a lack of motivation on the part of the parents. In other cases, the parents choose one or another kind of secondary school diploma with which the girl can go to work while in the meantime acquiring domestic skills. Generally, marriage is considered rather soon. Thus, education receives less attention, and integration into the labor market is considered on the part of the family as rather temporary — which does not mean that a woman, after her marriage, will not work for awhile, but this is then a matter to be decided upon within the new nuclear family. The choice of the residential area will largely depend on the location of the job and the capacity of the future husband.

It is primarily in terms of the boys that the host country integration or stratification mechanisms can be analyzed.

If the secondary education is of the more classic or more scientific type, then the boys are oriented in a much more relevant way to the autochthon social reality than is the case with technical or trade-school education.

If the immigrant boy cannot find a place on the labor market, a vacuum is created. He risks becoming oriented to the street, which then becomes the only experienced reality and the first reference point.

Where the school (= society) ends and the inclusion in the labor circuit does not occur, quasi-ghetto models dominate, certainly in a large city. Peter-Alexis Albrecht and Christian Pfeiffer speak of "Rückzugstendenzen (Gettobildung)".[13] The society is then symbolized only by a number of essentially negative traits, such as by the unemployment office and by police patrols. It is impossible for this to be experienced by these young men other than an exclusion from the society. In such an environment, delinquency readily develops and grows. Such delinquency is the logical anti-social response (sometimes anti-family, sometimes anti-social and anti-family together) of an individual or group that tries to maintain itself. With this, we link up with a problem that has already been cited under Thesis 3 as typical for the pre-puberty period.

The range of possibilities that are manifest in the pre-puberty period (6 to 14 years of age) is indeed continued in adolescence (14 to 18 years old), and thus also the picture of the mimicking adolescent. Speaking about the young Italian-English, Luigi Favero and Graziano Tassello describe a large group of them as follows: they are young people without a critical attitude toward the host country; they are primarily concerned with their own socio-professional future and are convinced that they have the capacities to realize their aspirations. Favero and Tassello write: "The young Italian-English looks to the future in all serenity and interior calm: he has no major financial problems; he is not disturbed by social injustices; he is not upset by religious doubts; the contacts with the English world cause no anxiety; and his opting to integrate himself in England is for him sufficient clear. In short, a personality without internal tensions and without apparent fissures."[44] It is a description that indicates more mimicry than aggressivity.

However, it would be unwarranted to conclude in general that these adolescents are either aggressive or mimicking or that they identify exclusively with a creative or asocial multi-ethnic peer group in one or another club relationship, even though this is a common phenomenon among immigrant adolescents. Each of these profiles occur in the adolescent period, but specifically for this phase is that the adolescents hesitate and change repeatedly, continuously trying to re-orient themselves in their profile choice. This is certainly the case for the boys — the girls are generally not given the space to do it in.

For the boys, confronted with the necessity of choosing between family values and new social perspectives, there is a tendency to postpone this choice longer and to delay longer in a specific transition situation. This is expressed in the small pluri-ethnic groups, homogenized by a "youth culture" in which boys of the same age, autochthon and of allochthon origin, participate. For example, many short-lived multi-ethnic athletic or music groups result from this. Particularly among the boys — the girls do not get the chance — the phase between school and marriage (late-adolescence and early adulthood) is filled with all kinds of multi-ethnic, peer-group oriented transition activities that are characterized by strong group formation and by high expectations about the success that will come from them. This pluri-ethnic mechanism, however, does not operate in more isolated activities that take place outside of club relationships, for example, going dancing, going to the movies, which have a mono-ethnic color, and whereby the immigrant youth seek the limited company of friends from the same mono-ethnic, socio-cultural circles. The end of this transition phase is also the end of the search for a new reference system. However, in the determination of the direction, the attitude of the parents is decisive, particularly for the girl, i.e., whether or not the culture of origin as it applies in the immigrant family will reclaim her loyalty. This attitude is manifested already by the time elementary school is finished. For the boys, the job situation, the residential area model and the future perspectives are often determinative. Of course, the influence of the peer group is also operative.

In view of the lines within which the subjective immigration career of the second-generation youth runs its course, the hesitating choice for a profile directly involves the taking of a position with regard to both the particular immigrant culture (in continuity with the socio-cultural praxis of the first generation) and the host country. The choice need not be exclusively for the one or the other. One can orient oneself more toward the one barrier in some respects and more toward the other barrier in others, and, of course, the two most obvious cultural fields that receive a possibly distinct content are the intradomestic zone and the extradomestic-society zone.

By the end of adolescence, the young people have usually discovered a number of minor equilibria. These are fragments of identity that are very often not particularly consistent and even sometimes contradictory and that seem to correspond to different spatial and temporal situations and moments.

D. The second-generation Young Adults, 20 years old and older

On this level within our theoretical construct, we would stress fragmenting creativity. In no sense would we imply something pathological. Nor would we argue that each immigrant is fragmenting to the same degree or in the same way. What we want to indicate is the distinction between two young immigrants, 25 years old, one having been born in the host country and who went to school there (a second-generation immigrant) and the other having immigrated, for example, at the age of 17 (a first-generation immigrant).

For the first-generation immigrant, one can speak of a socialization that led to a more or less stable core of relationships and symbols before the emigration occurred. For the second-generation immigrant, we have seen how a number of stages were passed through at a young age: first, the immigrant culture in the family; second, the "subjective emigration", as experienced at the age of 5 or 6; third, the belonging to a peer group that is situated in a Belgian reality, the school; fourth, the attempt at the age of 14 or 15 to join the broader autochthon reality in continuity with the scolarization (continued education, labor market, and residential area); and fifth, the relative awareness, between the ages of 20 and 25, that this attempt has been successful or not. If the hoped-for success has not been achieved, then there occurs a subjective re-migration back to the specific immigrant group. The second migration is almost always a subjective re-migration. But it is seldom objectively possible because of the cultural inadaptability to the real country of origin largely due to the scolarization in Belgium and also because of ignorance of the country of origin. The successive cultural encounters-in-discontinuity during the young years do hinder the development of a more or less stable structure of symbols and relationships, as happens among the autochthons and the first-generation immigrants. A mature and homogeneous cultural structure is never actually formed at an early age in the second generation. Thus, we may speak of a fragmentation. And this is what is expressed clearly and with fewer fluctuations in young adulthood, when the intradomestic space usually is associated with the former culture and the extradomestic-social fragment is determined by the host country culture, with the exception of those cases where a clear ghetto-construction occurs.

What is involved here is not a psychological fragmentation of the personality, as though the individual has a split personality, but rather

that there is a cultural reference framework that changes according to the experienced time and space, a compartmentalization of symbols and relationships within which the unique personality moves. Via the immigrant family and the school, the child enters into two worlds that, in both cases, grant access to what are parts of different cultural systems. Therefore, the characterization of the second-generation reality as living in two worlds is not incorrect, although it is inadequate. The second-generation immigrant actually does not live univocally in these two worlds nor does he live really in one of these two worlds. He is not half Sicilian and half autochthon, but he is entirely a "Sicilian immigrant" and/or entirely an "autochthon of Sicilian origin", with accents that differ depending on the specific spatial and temporal experiences of his values, symbols, and relational patterns (cf. the multinomy discussed above).

In young adulthood, what has gradually cleared a way through the phases is now calmly stabilized. From childhood and adolescence, what is retained is that the extradomestic, social fragment is considered more important in word and behavior than the intradomestic. This is a formal difference from Sicily itself, where both realities are essentially complementary and evenly balanced, although in a sex-related manner. The domestic fragment will not disappear, but it will be blocked off and relativized with respect to the outside world and, if possible, kept out of sight.

And the "subjective remigration" a few years later? What is involved here in the concrete? There is an extreme form that makes use of the objective culture and that occurs on the fringes of social life, namely, where the integration into the society fails completely. There is another form, the most common, that generally occurs after marriage when the second-generation immigrant gradually refocuses more on allochthon family life and thereby distances himself from certain accents from the periods of scolarizaton, adolescence, and young adulthood, and begins to situate more the symbols and relationships that determine his identity in the context of family values. There is yet a third form, the rather ethnic-creative, self-stereotyping form — not of the order of the objective culture — that occurs rather among intellectually well-qualified second-generation immigrants. They are actually very well adapted to the surrounding society as regards both its family and its social values, but they ultimately want to acknowledge themselves as belonging to a group with a specific ethnic-cultural past and a separate self-understanding.

2. The Socio-Cultural Praxis of the Second-Generation Immigrant

If there is one thing that is obvious about the second generation, it is that for it the *chiazza* as the field of competition is no longer located in Sicily. This is apparent in all of the periods of the subjective immigration career. It can be, as is the case for the first generation, that a circle of friends or a bar will recall the village of origin and that the influence of the residential area models continues to be active, but when the question is asked about whom one competes with, then the answer is, in the first instance, the peer group of the host country and primarily the autochthons. The wanting to be more in order to be assured of being equal is oriented to the autochthons, but under the influence of scolarization, this is done with the values, norms, and data of the autochthons. This does not always make it easy for the second generation, because its dual group allegiance can be used at a number of points, but generally at a number of not insignificant prestige and integration points such as the school, the job, and the residential area, it is confronted with an essential inferiority. For many of them, this can be the basis of a vindictive attitude, not so much toward the host country as a country but primarily toward the autochthons themselves.

There is also another, structural consequence. Since the manifestation of domestic purity and values, the honor is of little importance in the competition with the autochthons (the school already demonstrates this) and since it even often is taken as a characteristic of traditionalism or retardation, the domestic value complex is kept strictly within the nuclear family with a possible enlargement to the extended family. Particularly the girls at the end of the period of scolarization will attach importance to the extended family. The fact that the parents of the girl try to draw her back to their own values at this age is not alien to this process. For the girl, the extended family, in view of the attitude of the parents, offers the opportunity to visit relatives as a friend, whereby she can escape her complete isolation. Because, however, the domestic space is a disadvantage in the competition for respect with the autochthon peer group, this space becomes invisible from the outside.

In addition to the orientation problem and the reference, for the boys in their club life, to the multi-ethnic peer group, which are both characteristic for the period of adolescence, the making invisible of the domestic fragment together with the greater importance that is attached

to appearing socially more adapted are the major characteristics of the second generation, although it must be added that the family values increase in importance in the self-determination a little while after marriage. When all these characteristics are set next to each other, the result shows a cultural fragmentation whereby each fragment stands for a cluster of elements from one of the previous stages of the subjective second-generation immigration career.

The individual feels himself or herself situated with respect to an autochthon peer group and also with respect to a country of origin that is transmitted to him or her as a diminished domestic fragment. But what about the relationship to the first generation?

The parents are perceived ambiguously by the second-generation immigrant. Indeed, their own signals are contradictory, as they make the culture of origin present while dismantling it. And this dismantling of the origin occurs primarily through the parent who symbolizes social promotion, i.e., generally the father, while he remains attached, sometimes more than his wife, to the country of origin.

We have seen that the socio-cultural praxis of the first generation is reflected in the second generation already in early childhood but most consciously problably in adolescence. For the second-generation immigrant, this means that he or she will experience often conflicts in puberty and adolescence. In adulthood, there then follows a more stable fragmentation between an intradomestic core that is associated with the culture of origin and an extradomestic zone that is adapted as much as possible to the host country culture. The residential situation that fits this the closest is the second-integration zone, where second-generation immigrants will often, if it is at all possible, try to find an apartment after they marry.

The second generation can thus be seen as a continuation of the non-conscious inner-outer continuum from the implicit cultural gestalt of the cultural code of the country of origin, although patronage, which is strongly relativized in the first generation, falls away as a result of the scolarization and of a trading of the social values of origin for the social values of the host country. The non-conscious spaces, nevertheless, receive a concrete, conscious content that has a contradictory cultural orientation. The domestic zone that is made socially invisible is associated with the culture of origin, while the intervening space, the *chiazza*, is located exclusively in the host country, and the autochthon peer groups provide rivals for the competition for respect. This dual

orientation, the hesitations and the driving force that are so typical for the first generation, the tension between male respect that is oriented to the village of origin and female involvement oriented to a domestic space in the host country, are absent. The second generation lives *in* the host country, integrally, and has at most only an emotional relationship to the region of origin. It wants to integrate and construct its own future and that of its children in the host country. What this will lead to in the third or fourth generation cannot be predicted and can vary from case to case.[15]

Chapter 9
The Ethnicity Question

In fact, the second-generation immigrant knows the culture of origin only as a diminished fragment, separated from the context in which this fragment has its place. No true socialization within this culture of origin has occurred. But there is more. As A.L. Epstein has noted, for Oedipal and other reasons, in the second generation the identification with the first generation is very weak, and "the sense of attachment to the ethnic group is thus likely to be impaired". Epstein sees here an argument that would explain the ethnic revival in the third generation on the basis of a specific affective and identifying bond between grandchildren and grandparents: "The grandparents come to serve as a symbol of continuity, offering an anchor for the sense of ethnic identity".[1] While we would not accept without qualification Epstein's modification of the Freudian Oedipal model by extending it to the grandparents, a number of his statements are very interesting. For example, his insistence on emotional involvement seems very justified, as it introduces an important qualification to those positions that relate ethnicity too exclusively to "interest groups". Second, he distinguishes between "intimate culture" (our intradomestic culture) and "public culture" (our extradomestic culture),[2] whereby he situates the foundation of the revival of ethnicity in the continuity of the intimate culture and the erosion of the public culture, which we could verify from our own research, and which, according to Epstein, actually begins only in the third and further generations. Ethnic self-stereotyping assumes a certain cultural vacuum. "The situations I have been concerned with in this essay are all marked by a high degree of cultural erosion, and therefore raise in acute form the question not only how the boundary-maintaining mechanisms continue to operate, but why the boundaries should be maintained at all."[3]

1. Integration or Ethnic Stratification?

As noted above, in the second generation a double shift with an enduring character normally occurs: the extradomestic space (Epstein's public

culture) is filled with host-country values in order to be able to continue the competition for honor in the logic of the cultural gestalt of origin, though now with respect to the autochthon peer group. The intradomestic space (Epstein's intimate culture), is generally associated with the socio-cultural praxis of the first generation, but it is kept out of sight for the outside world. This is a typical, fragmentary, composite situation, in contrast, for example, with an ethnic concept to which belongs an inclusive identity. Portraying the identity of an ethnically motivated person and simultaneously commenting on the identity of the second generation as distinguished from it, one may state with Epstein that "the more inclusive the identity... the deeper its unconscious roots and the more potentially profound the charge of affect."[4]

What is the education that the second generation in its turn passes on to the third and further generations? As soon as there are children — and generally also before then — second-generation couples almost entirely switch over to the language of the host country. The enculturation and socialization of the child proceed in the language of the host country. Even though we know that language transmission cannot simply be equated with cultural transmission, it is obvious that, in the case of the Sicilian immigration, where skin color is insignificant in contrast to some other immigrations, one of the most tangible diacriteria disappears for the child to recognize himself later in his culture of origin. One can point to the cultural-religious elements of origin, but, for a number of immigrant groups, such as the Sicilian immigrants in Belgium, this is a negligible problem, and for other groups, like the Muslims, it is obvious that, in the course of time, adjustments can and must be made that order in a minimal way the intercourse between the groups and the community.

One could tend to assume that the integration process is thereby completed, particularly if this can be "consecrated" by citizenship in the host country. But two major conditions seem to have to be satisfied. Social stratification on the basis of physically external group characteristics must be able to be avoided (such as skin color and recognizable origins) whereby the social stratification becomes ethnic stratification. Although distinguishable in theory, ethnic stratification and class stratification are in reality not always contradictory: "In fact, they may co-exist in complex ways according to the historical, techno-environmental, economic, and political parameters of the particular societies in which they are found."[5] In Belgium and the rest of Western Europe, a

great deal will depend on the possibility of breaking out of the vicious circle of housing — education — job market — housing — education. The evolution will also depend on the recalcitrance of the culture of origin toward the host-country culture and vice versa, and on the depth in which that recalcitrance is rooted in the society. As regards the Sicilian immigration, this recalcitrance is certainly less intense than, for example, with regard to Muslim cultures.

In the problem of the mutual relationships between cultures, we call characteristics "ethnic" when a group freely ascribes them to itself in order to set itself off from other groups. Characteristics are "racist" when they are ascribed to a group against its will by other groups on the basis of external physical features (skin color and origin) and when they concern generalized negative group characteristics, which are generally situated on the level of the sexual, the hygienic, and the moral.

Presumably, no uncontrollable "racist" tensions will develop between the autochthons and the Sicilians in Belgium and the rest of Western Europe, which is not to say that the same thing will happen with other minority groups. But there can be "ethnic self-specification" among self-conscious third and further generation Sicilian immigrants who see themselves denied the objectives they aspire to within the autochthon *Umwelt* or who experience it as such, in other words, among people who experience the group to which they belong as being unjustificiably discriminated against in the cycle of housing — education — job market — housing — education. One then becomes consciously an "ethnic Sicilian", even though one is far from it objectively and culturally. It may not be overlooked that Belgium has a long tradition of ethnicization of the relationships between its autochthon population groups so that a model is readily at hand for the immigrant groups. Certainly, should ethnic stratification occur in certain places such as in Brussels, which is a real possibility in a time of economic crisis, ethnic group formation will ensue later on among groups that have sufficient structure when the economic conditions improve.

But it is not only the economic problem that can generate ethnicity. The transmission of a socio-cultural praxis across the generations or interruptions in that transmission can also form the foundation of a growing "ethnic we-consciousness" with which people try to distinguish themselves from the surrounding group or groups. This is the case to the degree the participants experience themselves as being socially or culturally too strongly undervalued or as cut off from their history.

If the economic, social, and cultural can be at the origin of ethnicity, then the question is of what this *Sicilian* ethnicity can consist. What will be its content?

Ethnicity must be clearly understood. It is not the same thing as the objective culture. Ethnicity is concerned with experiencing oneself subjectively as belonging to a particular group, and the contents and emblems appealed to need not in essence be objective. Or, as James McKay and Frank Lewins have observed about ethnicity in general, it is "not viewed as a primordial 'given' but an identity which can be managed, negotiated, aligned, manipulated or somehow transformed for a variety of expressive and instrumental reasons."[6]

Before sketching the beginnings of the ethnicity phenomenon in concrete for the Sicilian immigrants in Belgium, we will turn briefly to the problem in an entirely different context, the older and more restricted Sicilian immigration in Morocco, so that the problematic can be stated in as nuanced a way as possible.

On the basis of contacts with Sicilian immigrants in Brussels, it was possible to study the ethnicity problem during our research in 1977 for the third and fourth generation in a small Sicilian colony in Casablanca. In this Moroccan-Sicilian case, one may speak both of an ethnic stratification and of recalcitrance of the two cultures (the Catholic Southern European and the Muslim North African) with respect to each other. There, too, the group is at present clearly a sociological minority group.

2. The Sicilians in Casablanca, a Third and a Fourth Generation

In 1912, the northern portion of Morocco came under Spanish control and the southern, with Casablanca, under French. Tangier became an international city. The French were and are primarily interested in phosphate mining, and planned a railway and a harbor for that purpose. That harbor is Casablanca, which consisted in 1905 of only a few houses. Around 1915, it became a village. Around 1910, Italian immigration commenced from Tunesia to Morocco. Four-fifths of the Italian immigrants were Sicilian and then primarily from the Sicilian Province of Trapani. After 1910, direct immigration developed from Sicily to Morocco. The French encouraged Italian immigration to work in road, railway, and housing construction.[7]

Morocco expanded to form a society with the following social stratification: on top were the French colonists and just under them the Italians who employed the third-level Moroccans as the manual laborers. The Italian immigration in North Africa doubtless had a "nobler" character in its relationship to the host country than that in Northern Europe, and this difference may not be lost sight of when the two are compared.

During the fascist period in Italy, the immigrant colony in Morocco was augmented by several "reds" from Bologna in Emilia. A high point in the Italian immigration was reached shortly before the Second World War, when about 20,000 Italian immigrants lived in Morocco. During the War, the Italian "guest workers" were interned in concentration camps by the French, and, for this reason and others, from then on Italian settlement in Morocco steadily declined. The Sicilian colony diminished. This decline accelerated twice: the first when Morocco won its independence, the second on the occasion of the nationalizations. In 1980, Morocco still had about 4,000 Italians, mostly Sicilians, of whom 3,000 lived in Casablanca and 500 or so in Rabat and Meknes. Ten years previously there had been about 8,000.

We would like to discuss briefly these 3,000 ageing Sicilian immigrants in Casablanca. Why the ageing? One of the most important reasons for this are the regulations regarding working permits. Any alien born after 1934 in Morocco must apply for a renewal of his work contract every two years. If this is not granted for one or another reason, he may still remain in the country but he may not look for other work. Thus, job security for the younger Sicilians is precarious in the extreme. But there are also problems for the older Sicilians because the retirement benefits are not particularly generous. And to be self-employed, an immigrant has to associate himself locally with a Moroccan citizen. All of this serves to deter the members of the Sicilian colony from remaining in Casablanca.

The political changes in Morocco in the meantime have changed nothing in the social stratification of the colonial period, at least in the perception of the Sicilians in Casablanca except for one small matter. Since the French colonists are no longer there, the first and the second levels, the dominant French culture and the other Southern European groups (Italians, Spaniards, etc.) have merged into one group, "Les Européens", who speak French and identify strongly with France. Alongside them, and culturally this means beneath them, are the Moroccans, among whom a distinction is sometimes made between the

"Berbers" and the "Arabs", the former having a higher moral status in European eyes than the latter, although they are considered socially inferior by Moroccans.

Interesting for the understanding of the ideas about integration is the following statement of an official in the Italian consulate in Casablanca (March 1977): "The younger generation of Sicilians here? They have become different. Our young people have adapted to the environment. It is like a daughter of one of my colleagues who lived in China, you can even see it in her physical appearance: her eyes are slanted. If it can be seen in her physical appearance, how much more is it the case with the mentality? The younger Sicilians have adapted to the environment: they have become French! And that is not so bad. France has a great culture, does it not?" Adaptation to the environment in 1977 meant adaptation to the French culture, the culture of the ex-colonizer and of a certain Moroccan elite. What was expressed here at the consulate can be confirmed with virtually all of the Sicilians. They call themselves "Europeans" and divide the society into two groups, the "Europeans" and the others. In public, they use French versions of their names: François for Francesco, Sauveur for Salvatore. Their public life is French-European; their private life is French-Sicilian.

Is there then nothing more Sicilian about them? No Sicilian bars, no Sicilian friendship between either men or women, no specific Sicilian dietary habits? Only now and then does one hear a Sicilian-sounding pet-name between an elderly married couple. Otherwise nothing. One could call a few charms against the "evil eye" Sicilian, but they are also found in large measure among the Moroccans, and they do not seem to be a clear diacriticon.

Still, there is something in Casablanca that is an obvious Sicilian diacriticon, not only with respect to the Moroccans but also with respect to the other "Europeans". This is a diacriticon that occurs only once a year and is experienced as a community: the feast for the entire Sicilian community of Casablanca in the honor of the Madonna of Trapani. How is this to be understood anthropologically?

The situation can appear simple. A minority group that feels culturally superior or at least not inferior, manifests its cultural uniqueness for itself in opposition to the hostile or indifferent environment by stressing its own religion. Muslim immigrants in Western Europe do the same thing. However, such an explanation leaves a number of questions unanswered. Why are not the other important Sicilian religious festivals

also maintained? Is this really a true indication of religiosity among the Sicilians in Casablanca? Indeed, the stressing of the typically Sicilian religiosity would interfere with the creation of an overriding category, the "Europeans".

It seems that the fundamental stratification schema of European-Moroccan first had to develop and only then could a minimal ethnic diacriticon be introduced that is primarily intended for internal use to enable the group with a common *paisi* of origin to continue in existence. This minimal diacriticon, moreover must not challenge their European-ness and must be actualized as discretely and as rarely as possible but still with fixed regularity. What could be better suited for this than the patronal feast of a particular *paisi*? It is striking that maintaining the festival of the Madonna of Trapani in Casablanca, a festival that is celebrated in a square behind rather high walls, is less a matter of preserving the cultural patrimony than an ethnic reference.

How does this same ethnicity problem present itself now and for the future in a country where the religious and cultural recalcitrance between the Sicilian culture and the host country is not so severe? We have in mind Belgium, where this cultural problem is not so great, but where an ethnic stratification can well occur on the basis of the housing-education-job-housing-education cycle. As we noted above, the immigration in Belgium was "less noble" than that in North Africa.

3. Ethnicity among the Sicilians in Belgium

In the case of Casablanca, we saw one particular element, a religious celebration, function as an ethnic diacriticon without there actually being an objective cultural soil — there having occurred extensive "cultural erosion" — or without there being a recognizable group that presents itself as an ethnic unit or is considered such by others. In this somewhat extreme form, this is a rather exceptional situation. The specific historical context is certainly a contributory factor — the past colonization, a developing country, the Muslim revival, and so on.

The distinction James McKay and Frank Lewins make between an "ethnic category" and an "ethnic group" is illuminating for the Sicilian-Western European situation. They state that one may speak of an ethnic category when there are common ethnic characteristics between mem-

bers of a group without this leading to common group bonds. This is the most widespread form of ethnic life, also for the Sicilian immigrants. When, however, people begin to interact meaningfully on the basis of one or more common ethnic traits — particularly when it presumes some militancy and is thus rarer — then one must speak of an ethnic group: "We restrict the use of the term ethnic group to those situations in which individuals meaningfully interact on the basis of a shared ethnic trait(s), although members may experience ethnic awareness or ethnic consciousness."[8] We take "meaningful interaction" here very unambiguously to mean "mobilization".

The current socio-cultural praxis on the level of the first generation is the situation that is the most of the order of ethnic-category formation. With the passing of generations and, of course, subject to the influence of the residential-area model as an important variable, such ethnic-category formation can be eroded without therefore ruling out the possibility of ethnic-group formation. One of the important forces in this is the social stratification that the host country itself generates from its own structures. The economic element is important (the opportunities on the labor market) as is the socio-cultural (the space allowed by the host country for the cultural patrimony of the group and the social appreciation of its members). When the minority group feels itself cheated on one or both of these levels, concern can develop in a number of members of the group to take the matter of the group identity into their own hands. But since the group in the meantime has generally become alienated from the objective culture of origin, the creation of a new identity becomes necessary. "Ethnic groups with ethnic consciousness, which include such groups as Black Nationalists, I.R.A., Jesus Freaks, and certain sectors of migrant groups in Australia, have been viewed as creating 'new identities' distinct from those traditional groups which maintain their identity."[9]

George De Vos, Fredrik Barth, and Eugeen Roosens have pointed out that ethnic identity is essentially a subjective matter that, of itself, has nothing to do with the so-called objective cultural patrimony.[10] It is more a question of "boundaries" that one creates oneself than of real cultural content preserved from former times. The diacriticon that is applied is actually culturally arbitrary, although it will be linked back by the group itself to the former culture.

George De Vos has sketched a psychocultural profile of the ethnic group. He points out that there is always talk of a common origin,

common values and convictions, and a certain common consciousness of "survival in the future".[11] A.L. Epstein also insists explicitly on the link with the past and sees it embodied in "the relationship with the grandparents".[12] "It is in the experience of childhood, I suggest, that the roots of ethnic identity are laid down, acquiring in the process that emotional charge that can make it such a potent force in later life."[13] The looking back into the past, whether or not in Epstein's sense or, more broadly, the looking back to the origin, does not prevent the group from seeking its spirit in a future-oriented membership in a transcendent political sense. "Individuals who are dissatisfied with the past and the present may adopt a future orientation, attaining a sense of belonging by identification with a cause or a revolutionary movement."[14]

The ethnic group determines its own boundaries in a certain sense, and it is primarily these "boundaries" that are insisted upon. This leads to an emphasis of the differentness of other groups, to a lack of willingness to collaborate with other groups as equals, and to ostracism of deviant opinions. The individual "passing" (social promotion by socially climbing out of one's own group) is opposed by the members, and instead there comes a consciousness of immortality in and through the survival of the group. "Ethnicity in its deepest psychological level is a sense of survival. If one's group survives, one is assured of survival, even if not in a personal sense."[15]

Daniel Bell notes how, in the ethnic group, the relationships between the members revert to relationships of the pre-industrial type.[16] And still, it is not in fact these interpersonal relationships with their simultaneously positive and negative facets that dominate but rather the total subordination to the model of the group whereby one may speak of a general ideological self-identification[17], also in the emotional sense.[18] The ethnic group is not simply the sum of the actions of the individual members. "Norms, beliefs, and values are effective and have their own constraining power only because they are the collective representations of a group and are backed by the pressure of that group."[19]

One last important characteristic and actually the most striking for an outsider is that the ethnic group often acts as an interest group.[20] The group develops a typical revendicative strategy whereby charismatic leadership has more impact on the in-group than rational management.

This long introduction brings us to the question of whether such an ethnic group formation occurs in the immigration in Belgium. This question is all the more meaningful because something similar has

occurred among the Flemish and the Walloons to a certain extent.

Although tendencies toward ethnic-group formation have been manifested in the immigrant circles in Belgium and particularly among the Sicilians, in the beginning of the 1980s there was not yet a true, fully developed, enduring movement of the ethnic-group type. From the beginnings in the previous decade, however, it is sufficiently clear what form an ethnic-group among these Sicilian immigrants will take. The group that was observed in this regard between 1971 and 1980 is called "GRIT" (for *Gruppo Italiano,* which is not its actual name). This is a group that promotes a return to the sources and the roots of the culture of origin, for example, by ennobling that culture, not so much to revive that culture as such but by stressing the possible contributions of the Sicilian immigration to the culture of the host country and simultaneously to raise the self-respect of the immigrants.

With the introduction of the Brussels-Sicilian GRIT in the discussion of ethnic-group formation, the following comment is first in order. An "ethnic group" is here understood in the strict technical, anthropological sense of the word, as defined by the anthropologists cited above, and thus the GRIT can in no way carry the connotations that the term "ethnic" can carry with it from Italian political history. It is a constructive and creative group formational event in the Sicilian immigration that presumes, of course, a minimal framework within the group to be able to express itself. Moreover, the GRIT is not presented here as a fullfledged "ethnic group" but as a movement, between 1971 and 1980, with repeated "beginnings" of the ethnic-group type, beginnings thus of militant revendicative culture creation about which we make no value judgments as to whether the content of the revendications is "objective" or not.

Around 1968, a number of Northern Italian students, who themselves had nothing to do with immigration, came from Italy to a Belgian university to pursue their studies in social sciences. They formed a small group among themselves. In 1971, they settled in a working class district in Brussels and formed GRIT, the leadership of which was thus Northern Italian. After a survey of about a hundred Sicilian families in the district, the group decided to establish a "workers' education center" to "arouse" the district.

The workers' education center started up under the following motto: "In order to act, one must be educated; in order to be educated, one must have information". The most important source of inspiration was the

pedagogical booklet by Don Milani, *Lettera a una professoressa*.[21] The objectives were to develop the oral and written expression skills of the young Sicilian immigrants in order to enable them to communicate better and to arouse a sense of critical analysis in order to understand and control the social reality more effectively. Initially, a few militants followed the course. After a short time, but then for a long period, there were about five. Twice a week, these young Sicilians would come from 6:30 to 9:30 in the evening to the GRIT. They did this for three years, i.e., for the entire duration of the educational program. In the meantime, the group gradually expanded, but not spectacularly. At the end of each year, the group put on a play for the entire district. In 1973, it was entitled *La nostra immigrazione*. Other activities were also carried out such as after-school assistance for Sicilian children with learning problems, and in 1974 a social service was established.

Up to the end of 1973, the GRIT was obviously still in its experimental stage. In 1974, the first, more precise ideological touches were introduced. This coincided with the foundation of a theatre and long-play record series under the title "United We Win!" The accent in the group shifted from social and cultural formation, although this did not disappear, to the function of being a *symbolic group* on the immigration scene. This also coincided with the growing importance that was attached to plays on immigration in Belgium and to the singing and dissemination of group songs. It also coincided with renewed recruitment by the group. While in 1976 there were about twenty militants in addition to the leaders, it doubled in a few years. At the beginning of 1980, the GRIT had a total of about fifty committed militants, who represented a thoroughly convinced basic membership of about a hundred. In addition, in Brussels, Liège, and elsewhere, there were a number of "sympathizers" with varying degrees of commitment.

As an example, we give the following texts from the GRIT repertory of the years from 1976 through 1979. A long-play record was released in 1976, and one of the songs on it was entitled "Marcinelle". Marcinelle is the name of the place where, on 8 August 1956, 136 Italians, mostly from the *Mezzogiorno*, and many others lost their lives in a coal mine disaster. Apparently, this disaster could have been avoided if the safety regulations had been respected by the management. The "Marcinelle":

Down below in the Borinage,
The earth is black
For all of the immigrants
Who died in the mine.

Buried one by one,
Shared negligence.
For them we want a resurrection,
Not a farewell.

Returned from the dead,
With crippled arms,
Turiddu and Rodriguez
Answer "Present"!

Dead men of Marcinelle,
This mine
Is no longer a grave
But a banner.

Comrade, miner,
The memory of you
Gives our history
Its conscience.

On the same record is also "Addio, Sicilia bella", a farewell to Sicily with specific reference to the region of origin:

Farewell, my beautiful Sicily,
Land of the citrus trees.
Gone are the farmers,
Only the masters remain,
Who, with their mafia,
Prepare your destruction.

In 1977, a second long-play record appeared with a song entitled "Seconda generazione":

One day I realized that I lived
In a world so very peaceful,
Or at least that seemed so.

I was six years old and went to school
Where I learned to speak
Someone else's language.

Imagine, what a pleasure it was
To have to change language,
Language and thoughts.

Finally, after school,
I had to begin to learn
How to get a trade.

I didn't understand father and mother any more
And much less
Their problems.

I was no longer like them or like the others
And I wondered
Whom I am actually like.

This is the story of millions of children
Over the whole world
Strewn out over the whole world.

We don't want to be assimilated,
And suffer the fate
Of our parents.

In 1979, a new song was written (originally in French) about the second generation from this same point of view:

> Miners in the depths of the memory
> We are born, where you could
> Dig coal and crumble bread
> On the fringes of society.
>
> For us the mine was a school
> Our barracks are our neighborhoods
> A deep, black emptiness in which
> You see loneliness enjoying itself.

These songs, all but one in Italian (never in Sicilian), came not from the coal mines of Wallonia or Limburg, but from the urban immigrants in Brussels.

Along with the theater and the songs, other initiatives were also taken in these years.

— In 1977, GRIT held an ambitious "theater meeting" on the right of franchise for the immigrants. The response was massive, and an enormous success for the group, giving GRIT much greater recognition throughout the country.
— In this period, GRIT members gained important positions in certain Brussels-French language umbrella organizations that served the immigrants.
— In 1978, GRIT was able to purchase a building, the objective being to stimulate Italian culture. A very nice hall was connected to it for larger scale cultural events.
— In 1978, a garage was purchased to house a cooperative founded by the group. The intention of the cooperative is primarily symbolic: "The Italian immigrants in Brussels take charge of their own destiny", which was symbolized by self-management. Two other cooperatives were founded later on.
— At the end of 1979, an exhibition under the name *"La Memoria"* (The Memory) was held in the hall for the promotion of Italian culture. The poster for the exhibition showed a coal mine with a class of immigrant children in the foreground. The exhibition itself consisted of photographs from the first years of immigration after the Second World War and particularly pictures showing the life of

miners in Borinage. There were also drawings from Sicilian children in Brussels of their life in the Brussels twilight zones and of their view of immigration.

It was striking how efficiently these projects — the theater, the cooperatives, and the exhibitions — were established and worked out with rather limited financial resources. It was also striking how the accent within the group shifted from education to self-management and revendication (because of the memories of the past). Thus, this reflects the development of an action group into an ethnic group.

The ethnic-group aspect was strengthened at the end of 1979 by two symbolic steps. The first was when several militants of the group joined the ANPI *(Associazione Nazionale Partigiani Italiani),* a movement that organized and directed the Italian resistance of the last world war. Second, in the same trend toward ethnic group formation, GRIT had long been seeking a symbolic base in the Mezzogiorno in the form of a cooperative established by GRIT militants in the region of origin. The ever-present desire to establish a symbolic link with Southern Italy, the *roots,* is remarkable.

The leader of the group expressed it for the members of the general meeting as follows: "Let us not forget that we are symbolic, and this we must truly be: not for ourselves, but for the one destination that is ours: the immigration." Each member of the group identifies, emotionally and cognitively, as fully as possible with the guest worker ideal that is presented in the group and with which the group contends that it already embodies the internal potentialities and the new future.

For the full member, of whatever class he might have been, it is necessary that he become a *compagno-amico* who has totally shared in the specific past of the guest worker. The ethnic model brings each to see himself as someone who was expelled from Sicily by the political mafia that rules there. The Belgian state was unjust to him by sending him against his will down into poorly equipped coal mines and by causing his children to be two or more years behind in elementary school, which themes are alluded to in the poster of the "La Memoria" exhibition. With and because of GRIT, he has become aware, and he keeps this continually in mind. But he has also been given confidence in his own abilities, and he knows that he, together with his *amici,* represents a new and better world.

On the interpersonal level within the group, the idea of Sicilian friendship dominates as the emotional bond. But this is an organized

friendship that cuts off relationships with non-members in favor of relationships with GRIT members and that devides the more committed militants among the different friendship groups. This obviously promotes the cohesion and force of GRIT. A fundamental difference from the Sicilian friendship is also that sexual segregation is replaced by a mixed group formation. The group is led by charismatic leadership — a strength as well as a weakness for the group. This leads to a new cultural identity with respect to the objective culture of origin as well as to the particular Sicilian immigrant culture as it is expressed in the residential districts. For the members, however, belonging to GRIT is sufficient justification for the conviction that they are committed in a history that starts from a common and "real" origin in the home country.

Friendship, which is liberated from the competition for honor and respect that typifies the *chiazza* life in Sicily and which is given content with the idea of class solidarity, and "religious Marxism" with absolute claims — these are two important factors that form a sufficient basis to become a consistent and closed model for self-conscious immigrant youth, who experience themselves as having been robbed by the autochthons of what is legitimately theirs economically, socially, and culturally. "Marcinelle" (8 August 1956) is undoubtedly the strongest historical complaint within their revendicative strategy.[22]

We do not see GRIT as a completely developed ethnic group in the Brussels Sicilian community in the 1970s. Moreover, GRIT recruited in these years largely second-generation, though sometimes a rare first-generation immigrant would join (in casu, intellectuals). The developments in the 1980s within GRIT are less clear. Under the influence of, among other things, the positions in the broader umbrella organizations and the strong demographic expansion in Brussels of the Moroccan and Turkish immigrants at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, there seems to be an attempt to open out to other ethnic groups in the immigration, and "interculturalism" is being included in the training program as a new element that is diminishing the ethnic orientation from the past. Moreover, "interculturalism" developed into an important theme throughout Western Europe in these years. Nevertheless, GRIT is relevant in a discussion of the ethnicity question since the beginnings of ethnic-group formation were not lacking in GRIT between 1970 and 1980.

The link with the past? One of the basic mottos constantly cited in GRIT comes from the works of the Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci:

"*Chi non sa da dove viene, non sa dove deve andare*" (Who does not know where he comes from does not know where to go).

The vision of the future? GRIT is both religious (the image of a Christ without arms on the cross occupies a central place in the largest meeting room) and Marxist-Leninist via a very rigidly hierarchical group discipline aiming for a classless society in which the workers, the people, exercise sovereign power.

The symbols? Self-management models in the host country and in the region of origin.

The emblems? "Marcinelle" relative to the host country; the Resistance relative to the home country.

The revendications? "We immigrants have more rights than we are being granted at present (e.g., the right to occupy responsible positions in the society), because we are the exploited in the history of immigration."

The strong emotional involvement among the members and the closed character of the group also point in the direction of ethnic-group formation.

These beginnings in GRIT may well indicate the identity and the later functioning of potential ethnic movements among the third and further generations of Sicilians in Belgium.

Chapter 10
A Millenarian Response to the Difficult First Years of Adaptation

In a discussion about ethnicity, George De Vos gave three fundamental orientations in the definition of self-identity: "In his primary sense of belonging, an individual can lean toward one of three orientations: a present-oriented concept of membership as citizens in a particular state or as a member of a specific occupational group; a future-oriented membership in a transcendent universal religious or political sense; or a past-oriented concept of the self as defined by one's ethnic identity, that is, based on ancestry and origin."[1] In ethnic-group formation, there is a past-oriented concept of the self as defined by one's ethnic identity. In the movement of the millenarian type we will discuss here, there is instead a future-oriented membership in a transcendent universal religious sense. A comparison between the two movements confirms an important statement in Chapter 9 above, namely that the observable "objective" culture is not the same thing as the "ethnic" identity.

The militant ethnic-group formation discussed in the previous chapter presumes a long prior history of immigration. This is not the case in the concrete millenarian model that will now be discussed, the Jehovah's Witnesses among the immigrant Sicilians. Before presenting the anthropological model, we will give a brief history of the Jehovah's Witnesses in Belgium.[2]

1. Some Historical Data

The Special Pioneers of the Jehovah's Witnesses were first active in Belgium in 1912. Before 1920, they directed themselves to the autochthon miners from the Walloon Liège region. Between 1920 and 1940, they continued to preach to miners, both Polish and Belgian. The Northern Italian immigrants were not approached in this time. Between 1948 and 1960, systematic recruitment drives were launched among the

Southern Italian miners. In 1960, Belgium had 7,000 Jehovah's Witnesses. For the time being, the groups were not structured ethnically. The last period for our purposes began in 1960 and coincides with a shift in the immigration profile. In 1965, the leadership of the organization in Belgium conducted a linguistic census. The Italians, who had been included up to then in autochthon congregations like the other foreigners, were invited to a special Italian assembly in Charleroi in that year. About 800 Italian members came. A dozen Italian congregations were formed in which Italian was the primary language. Later, the Witnesses applied this same principle to the other ethnic groups.

In 1976, the Jehovah's Witnesses in Belgium had 20,000 "publishers" divided over 277 congregations: 118 French, 114 Dutch, 28 Italian, and also 8 Greek, 7 Spanish, and also English, Hungarian (refugees after 1956), Portuguese, and Turkish (presumably "Albanian" Turks) groups in Brussels. In January 1977, counted as publishers were 9,340 Dutch-speakers, 9,433 French-speakers, 2,469 Italian-speakers, 310 Spanish-speakers, 305 Greek-speakers, and 43 English-speakers. There are still many Poles among the Jehovah's Witnesses but they no longer speak Polish in the meetings and belong to the autochthon groups. Percentage interpretations of these figures must be done carefully. In fact, at least 11.3 % of the Jehovah's Witnesses in Belgium are Italians and at least 14.4 % are immigrants. But one must immediately add that the percentages in both cases (and particularly the percentage of foreigners in general) are probably much higher since both the Dutch- and the French-speaking groups apparently have a significant number of immigrants in them.

In Sicily, the Jehovah's Witnesses movement, in its opinion, had nothing to do with immigration. In the Province of Caltanissetta, the movement began in Caltanissetta city with a group of about 15 people in 1959. There were no ex-emigrants among them. From Caltanissetta city, the movement spread to San Cataldo, Serradifalco, Riesi, and to almost all of the towns and villages of the province. The districts where recruitment took place largely coincided with those districts from which emigration occurred. Nevertheless, the first members were not ex-emigrants. But once that the Witnesses were established both in Caltanissetta and in the immigrant host countries, each with their own specific histories of origin, this did not prevent the formation of very close contacts between the *paisani*, "brothers" and "sisters", both those in Sicily and those in Brussels or Genk or elsewhere, with much mutual

help and the encouragement of intermarriages.

Both in Sicily and in the Sicilian immigrant circles, the Jehovah's Witnesses is not the only active religious minority group. The most important minority movement, at least in Italy as it is less strong among Italian immigrants, is that of the Pentecostals, a movement that was brought to Italy by returning Italian-Americans. In 1908, Giacomo Lombardi preached in Rome; in 1910 P. Ottolini was active in Torino and Milan, and Luis Francescon was also well-known. They were all Italian-Americans. Francescon was a Waldensian before he emigrated and converted to the pentecostal revival in North America. In 1919, another emigrant, S. Arena, returned from California to Sicily, which return marks the beginning of pentecostal groups there. More than did the other sects, Pentecostalism stressed repentance and egalitarianism. "The success of sects of Pentecostal type is largely explained by the real and egalitarian solidarity which they create amongst their members."[3]

Egalitarianism fits well into the ideal of normative equality that inspires the social competition for respect in Sicily. In Italy, Pentecostals are the most important Protestant organization, counting more than 200,000 members. Among the Belgian immigrants, the Pentecostals, unlike the millenarian Jehovah's Witnesses, must be understood not from the specificity of the immigration but from the country of origin. In Belgium itself, this movement was never solidly established. Around 1930, the first attempts at organization were made by Douglas R. Scott, and a few groups were formed, particularly in the French-speaking part of the country. In 1978, ten Italian Pentecostal churches in Belgium were part of the *Chiese Cristiane Italiane nel Nord Europa*. Italian Groups are present in Borinage and in Liège (385 baptized members), in Genk and Maasmechelen (115 baptized members), and in Brussels (70 baptized members, and also a splinter group).

Because this movement was much less active and had much fewer members among the immigrants than the Jehovah's Witnesses and because the recruitment initiatives began from people who were already Pentecostals in Italy, we will not discuss them further here. Nor will we discuss the Waldensians, who are active in Riesi in Sicily. We will restrict ourselves to the millenarian Jehovah's Witnesses. They are, more than the other religious minority groups, an expression of specific group creativity that is proper to the life of immigrants of popular Catholic origin in the initial years of their uprooting.

In a study conducted in 1976-1977 among nine congregations of

Jehovah's Witnesses, including all three Italian congregations in Brussels and Genk and the most obvious autochthon comparison groups in the host country and in which 367 of the 787 members of more than 15 years old collaborated (including 125 of the 279 Italians), answers were obtained to the following questions[4]:

— Where did the Sicilian immigrants who were Jehovah's Witnesses learn the "Truth" and how many years after immigrating did they join the movement?
— What happens when a Sicilian immigrant becomes a Jehovah's Witness? How is it experienced thereafter? What does one find that one would not have otherwise?
— How successful is the transfer of the "Truth" of the newly converted immigrants to their children?

2. Entrance during the First Difficult Years of Adaptation in the Host Country

Of the 125 Italian respondents (generally Sicilian in Brussels, but almost always Southern Italian), the immigrant Jehovah's Witnesses of the three congregations declared that most of them learned to know the "Truth" in the host country and not in Sicily.

Table 1: Where the Italian immigrant Jehovah's Witnesses learned the "Truth"

	South Brussels	North Brussels	Genk
In Belgium	71 %	88 %	97 %
In Italy	24 % *	6 %	3 %
Elsewhere abroad	5 %	6 %	—

* These are often Sicilian Jehovah's Witnesses from Sicily itself who married Sicilian Jehovah's Witnesses from Brussels whom they met when the latter were on vacation in Sicily.

Half of these people became interested in the millenarian model during the first five years of their stay in the host country, thus during the initial, difficult years of adaptation. It is a constructive attempt to respond the flowing away of values of which one was attached. People seek protection from this with each other.

In passing, we note that there are indications that threat of a loss of roll status of the man as husband and father is not unimportant. His authority is less obvious in the host country than previously. It may not be mere chance that among the Sicilians it is very often the man who is the first to enter the "Truth" and the first to have himself baptized (in 36 % of the cases, the man is first, in 18 % the woman; in 46 % both together), while it is equal in the Belgian congregations (in 26 % of the cases first the man and 27 % the woman; in 47 % both together).

Table 2: Number of years between the departure of the immigrants from Sicily and the commencement of their Bible study

	South Brussels	North Brussels	Genk
Between 0 and 5 years	55 %	41 %	57 %
Between 6 and 10 years	13 %	49 %	17 %
Between 11 and 25 years	32 %	10 %	26 %

(One respondent had a difference of 42 years and is not included here because his conversion was clearly related to a personal traumatic event.)

The divergence of the North Brussels (Laken) profile from that of South Brussels (in Kuregem) and Genk could be due to the specificity of the immigration in Laken. Ordinarily, these are people who have two moves behind them, the first from Southern Italy to the coal mines of Wallonia or Limburg and then, after a time, the second, internal move from the mining region to Brussels. The immigration to South Brussels and Genk was generally directly from Sicily. The higher percentage between 6 and 10 years in North Brussels often corresponded to 0 to 5 years after the move to the metropolitan area of Brussels.

3. An Entrance into a New, Different Kind of Order with a Relative Preservation of the Cultural Patrimony

a. An appreciation of the personality

As a Jehovah's Witness, the individual joins a small group of people, an elite, that knows more than anyone else. But this does not make the member asocial, for the call is to communicate that knowledge as much

as possible to everybody else. Is not one of the most important tasks to go from door to door to announce the "Truth"? Moreover, the message does not touch some of the fringes of life, rather it is extraordinary and total. It offers the key to the only salvation that is possible after death. For one who looks at the matter "realistically", the movement is more important than any other in the world. It even nullifies everything else. The member of the group has an irreplaceable significance in this world, where there are so very few militants. This is an enormous personal promotion.

But also within the Kingdom Halls themselves, unique promotion chances are offered. The Jehovah's Witnesses are a laicized and secularized movement. There are no clergy. The division of tasks within the group is, in principle, changeable. Because of the purely moral criteria that are applied and the temporary nature of the function that falls to the Elders' share, this *honor* can sooner or later be everyone's, at least if one is a man. But this is no problem for a woman. Does she not share in the honor of her husband or son? In addition, during the assemblies everyone gets a turn to do something, to answer a question during the lesson or to present a model lecture for a few minutes or to act in a skit with a "brother" (if one is a man) or a "sister" (if one is a woman) before the other brothers and sisters about how one should convince people who are not yet in the "Truth". There is always an elder who judges and praises the performance in public afterwards.

Finally, as a Jehovah's Witness and an immigrant, there are obvious advantages in daily life. One no longer smokes and only drinks very moderately. Very little is wasted on evenings out. The Jehovah's Witnesses help each other to find better jobs. The illiterate learn to read and write. These all may be small things, but they do have a cumulative effect.

Table 3: Individual judgments of their own social mobility (opinions of members)

	Italian members	French-speaking control groups	Dutch-speaking control groups	Total
Social promotion	27 %	19 %	13 %	19 %
The same level	70 %	78 %	80 %	76 %
Social demotion	3 %	3 %	7 %	5 %

Certainly it may be assumed that the Italian members do not perceive their conversion to the Jehovah's Witnesses to be a step down socially.

b. Segregation that is experienced as integration

For the outsider, it seems that the members of the group would experience themselves as being socially "set apart", as being not integrated. Nothing is further from the truth. Like every social group that profiles itself around high-minded values, one may well experience oneself as a member of a small minority group, a spiritual elite, the yeast of the world, but thereby not yet as marginal. To the contrary, one experiences oneself as, in fact, more aware than anyone else about what is happening in the world, as more socially committed than anyone else, and as more respected by people than anyone else.

However, it must be noted that most of them are not members of any social organization apart from the Jehovah's Witnesses nor do they have hobbies that would assume social contacts with non-Jehovah's Witnesses. The all-embracing schedule of activities from the group makes participation in other organizations difficult and unnecessary. Those who, before joining the sect, belonged to one or another social organization such as a trade union have the tendency to resign their membership after a few months. Before joining the sect, 22 % were members of a social organization, but this was the case for only 9 % afterwards. Those who had remained union members felt obliged to add some kind of legitimation to their answers on the questionnaire.

When a Jehovah's Witness distances himself from the world, he also leaves the churches, which, for the Sicilians, is mainly the Catholic Church. The membership in the religious minority group, for which the finding of the "Truth" is the primary justification, is attended by a number of positive legitimations for this specific minority group and implicit criticisms of the churches: along with the "Truth", the member has found "warmth, friendliness, love, and unity" in Kingdom Hall and also "honesty" and "life according to the principles of the Bible".

If one is well integrated into the congregation and if this has succeeded to that degree that one no longer has friends at work who are not Jehovah's Witnesses, then the objective segregation is not experienced at all. It is more difficult for those who still have some friends who are not Jehovah's Witnesses. Sicilians who are Jehovah's Witnesses have it particularly difficult in maintaining friendships outside of their con-

gregation. This is to be expected, for, in the Sicilian case, one's friends are a mirror of both the society and oneself. If all my friends confirm me in my being a Jehovah's Witness, then it is the society that confirms me in my being a Jehovah's Witness. Among the Sicilian immigrants who are Jehovah's Witnesses, only 22 % have friends who are not Jehovah's Witnesses, as opposed to double this percentage among the autochthons.

c. Creative preservation of the cultural patrimony

The morality of the Jehovah's Witnesses respects the holy tradition of biblical morality taken literally as written in the Old and New Testaments with certain Old Testament accents: a traditional man-wife role division whereby the man is the head of the woman and whereby the children are subject to the parents and particularly to the father. The parents, however, must love their children. The word that occurs most often in the lectures is "obedience". Sexual puritanism dominates, and sexual misbehavior that becomes known is severely sanctioned, if necessary by a special announcement in public in the assembly in the Kingdom Hall. Drinking is permitted in moderation, but smoking is strongly forbidden. Honesty is positively and repeatedly encouraged. Clothing, hair styles, and the like are less subject to sanction, but still closely observed and approved or disapproved. A certain "American" approach to the way of life and even in the interaction style is unmistakable, certainly among those who have been socialized in the minority group from childhood on. Occasionally, its relationship to their actual common professional status gives their appearance a curious *petit bourgeois* character that does not match their objective social position or their conservative and traditional moral and cultural disposition.

The stress on Biblical family models leads to the Sicilian immigrants holding fast, perhaps unconsciously, to everything in it that is at all similar to the traditional Sicilian family pattern. This also emerges in the structural symbolism. The men, as Elders, have the authority. The women for their part apparently accept their subordinate position. The concrete morality can be summarized in two points: a traditional family morality supplemented with a series of rather simple moral prescriptions (not smoking, very moderate drinking, being well dressed, etc.). It offers the members a fixed moral reference frame, impressed upon them with the incontrovertible authority of Jehovah.

The stress on traditional family values, not only in the congregation

but also on the level of the individual itself, is evident in the score that a number of them obtain when administered the Traditional Family Ideology Scale (TFI).[5] This scale is, of course, very relative and primarily indicates a position on an autocratic-democratic continuum, without revealing the "pattern" of a culture itself. As regards its content, the TFI scale is constructed around five of the many characteristics of the authoritarian personality syndrome: conventionalism, authoritarian submission, exaggerated masculinity and femininity, extreme emphasis on discipline, and moralistic rejection of impulsive life. The abbreviated version with 12 items was administered to two groups of Sicilian Jehovah's Witnesses: 15 men and 15 women of at least 50 years old and 10 men and 10 women of around 20 years old. Four equivalent groups of Sicilian Jehovah's Witnesses in Caltanissetta served as control groups.

On a scale between 10 (the democratic pole) and 70 (the autocratic pole), the younger subjects scored between 50 and 60 and the older between 64 and 68, both in Sicily and in Brussels. This indicates that, in terms of the TFI scale, a strongly autocratic profile is manifested without any great differences between young and old and without any significant differences between the home country and the host country. By way of comparison, the scale was administered to small groups of Sicilians who were not Jehovah's Witnesses: Sicilian men and women in the old city of Caltanissetta of more than 50 years old scored between 60 and 65. Sicilian immigrants, both men and women, older than 35 in a housing estate in Genk or in the second-integration zone in Laken scored between 50 and 60, while those in the Kuregem quasi-ghetto scored above 68. In the last cases, these were first-generation immigrants. We note that the young Sicilian Jehovah's Witnesses in Brussels scored globally as high as the first-generation immigrants in Genk and Laken, while their non-Jehovah's Witness contemporaries in Sicily scored significantly lower, namely between 40 and 45 and their contemporaries among the second-generation immigrants who were not Jehovah's Witnesses generally scored between 30 and 40. GRIT militants (a group of 10 men and 10 women) were situated between 20 and 31.

d. A socio-cultural signal for tensions within the society at large

Presumably, one may not want to explain a phenomenon such as a millenarian movement on the basis of the frustrations and needs of the individual as an individual. The defect of the current deprivation theories

is that they attempt to account for a complex phenomenon unicausally from the standpoint of an outsider-observer. In this way, more or less valid links are always found with emotional[6], social[7], or economic[8] deprivation that are, by virtue of their unicausality, vastly inadequate.

It would seem to be more appropriate to approach millenarianism on the basis of very particular relationships of tension between two cultural systems, as we will try to do below in our discussion of the tension between cultural preservation and cultural rejection.

4. The Difficult Transfer of the "Truth" from the Parents to the Children

Typical of a religious minority group is that it remains oriented to newcomers, but, of course, it tries as much as possible to keep the children, the second generation, in its ranks. In order to succeed in this, as many extracurricular activities as possible are organized. But the school brings the children inevitably in extensive contact with non-Witnesses, and what applies for other second-generation immigrant children also applies for these, namely, that the school unconsciously challenges the former poles of authority. The result is that it is very difficult for the Jehovah's Witnesses to remain a rigid religious minority group and still to keep the children. Young adults between the ages of 20 and 30 are particularly prone to drop out.

5. Preservation of Culture? Or a Community of "New" People?

In this section, we will summarize a number of the findings from our study of the phenomenon of the Jehovah's Witnesses among the Sicilian immigrants. In addition to the data from our survey, we base our conclusions on a year and a half of participant observation (from October 1975 to March 1977) in the Sicilian Jehovah's Witnesses group in South Brussels and several months of participant observation in the old city of Caltanissetta and in San Cataldo. These were first-generation immigrants who joined the Witnesses very often during the first five, difficult years in the host country. In a period of culture shock and disorientation, probably mostly for the man, a simple model is presented

in which they recognize important elements of their home culture and to which they cling. Rigid social control — two or three meetings a week in the Kingdom Hall and again in a small group at home — supports this event and closes off any retreat. Once the difficult adaptation years are past, the Jehovah's Witnesses are relatively much less successful and, in the second generation, they have no entrée at all, except with children that are born in the minority group itself. But even with these children there are many dropouts.

This simple explanation is not entirely devoid of all justification, although it must be qualified in some important respects. The first concerns cultural preservation; the second the relationship to the ethnic origins and the new identity.

Although there are important elements of cultural preservation and particularly recognizable elements (recognizable for the Sicilians) present, one may not underrate the enormous process of change that entry into the model involved. We describe this in terms of the cultural gestalt of origin, the implicit, pre-reflective substructure.[9]

Family, relatives, and friends are, it is true, continually used values, but what is involved is rather the *forms* that are preserved with a completely new content. The friends and relatives are spiritualized and, in this spiritualization, united with each other. The spiritual friends, men and women, are the true, that is, spiritual, relatives: brothers and sisters. This is revolutionary for the Sicilian culture. And this explains why Sicilian Jehovah's Witnesses can rightly call themselves "new people". The fact that they score very autocratically on the TFI scale, like those in the traditional Sicilian culture, does not alter the fact that a strong change has occurred on the level of the pattern, but it stresses their attachment to the tradition.

They meet each other on the *chiazza*, i.e., for them the Kingdom Hall, where the congregation gathers two or three times a week. Outside is the world of the non-Jehovah's Witnesses. To the degree that competition for honor is present, this takes place in a mild, restrained way under the watchful eyes of the Elders. Toward the outside, with respect to the non-members, this competition is settled beforehand to the advantage of the *chiazza* of the Jehovah's Witnesses. For it is only the friends who can pronounce the judgment of society.

Patronage is totally spiritualized and situated in Jehovah. It is concretized in the institution of the Elders, whose yoke is light, because they are regularly replaced by new, different men.

The home is the reflection of the *chiazza* and vice versa, the complementarity between them disappearing to the advantage of a spiritual junction. The family is domestically less matrifocally structured than would normally be the case with a nuclear family in Sicily.

This model then becomes millenarian because of its clear signal function in the broader social context.

De Vos writes as follows: "Transcendental religions or universalist ideologies offer an alternative form of survival offering a new identity, and a new form of continuity. The reasons for rejection of the old in embracing the new are varied and complex in individual cases. Entering a new religion, or leaving the family, are marked by symbols of death and rebirth in many forms of initiation ceremonies, such as baptism."[10] For the immigrant Jehovah's Witnesses, this is indeed the case, but with this qualification: in the rejection of the past as ethnic diacriticon and by entering a new order of the future through baptism, the new subjective membership involves a relative but objective further participation, though in a way that is made invisible, in the foundations of the former culture. This participation in the form of a compromise is even reinforced because the former values now belong to the new message, to the "Truth" of the millenarian religion.

This last is not only an intellectual or ideological process: it is also symbolized in the group structure and attitudes. The congregation in its entirety symbolizes the family model. In the embrace of the congregation, the Sicilian Jehovah's Witness continues the traditional family life on a symbolic and absolute level. His life is lived at home or in the congregation, which is structured like the family. The *chiazza* becomes a family space. Within this structure there are two circuits: the circuit of the men among whom some, the Elders, symbolize male social superiority, and the circuit of the women. It seems probably that this symbolism will also affect life at home after a time and also accounts for the rather patrifocal character of the nuclear family among the Jehovah's Witnesses. But also on other levels, such as in sexual relationships, this must have repercussions.

In the "moral package" of the millenarian model there are also a number of built-in elements requiring conformity to the surrounding society. For society, the Jehovah's Witnesses are ideal citizens: exemplary workers, very dedicated, quick to adapt to the "national civil virtues". This conformity, however, is clearer for the outsider than for the Jehovah's Witnesses themselves, who continually stress a number of

distinctive elements such as not smoking, moderate drinking, clothing, and hair styles that are less important for the outsider. There is, however, the important problem in the renunciation of political responsibility and military service, but as long as the group remains small — and this will remain the case in view of the nature of the selectivity — and as long as there is no war, a modern, democratic society will not take it amiss.

As we had to qualify cultural preservation, it follows from the above that we must also qualify somewhat the "new personhood". And like the phenomenon of the ethnic group, the phenomenon of the Jehovah's Witnesses among the Sicilian immigrants is a clear indication that there is a great difference between objective culture and asserting that one belongs ethnically to a particular group. But it is also an indication of something else, namely that a culture can do something with people and also that people themselves can do something with their culture. And finally, as a culture can be read on several levels, from the conscious to the pre-conscious, so, too, cultural changes can be analyzed on several levels and various forms of creativity can be distinguished.

Like ethnic-group formation after a few generations, the joining of a millenarian movement in the initial years after immigration constitutes a form of transcendence by the immigrants of socio-cultural praxis whereby the cycle of residential area — education — job market — residential area — education overwhelmingly determines integration within the socio-cultural praxis of the immigrants. The joining of a millenarian movement is perhaps the first clear — because it is group related — exponent of a process that takes place in the lives of most immigrants: they attempt to react creatively to the great changes they are undergoing.

Chapter 11
From Challenging Culture to Cultural Change and Integration

1. A Culture of Control and Challenge

The Sicilian culture displays two dynamics that keep each other in equilibrium: challenge and control.

The *control* can be symmetrically structured, as is the case with subjects who control each other, or asymmetrically in hierarchical relationships. It reinforces the conservative aspects of the culture. The *challenge*, which may either be active or passive, challenging or being challenged, is focused either on the domestic life or on the extradomestic, public life. To the degree that this challenge is determinative for Sicilian culture and is concerned with *social* life, this component becomes the most important factor of real cultural change, certainly with the second-generation immigrants and beyond. The lines of this challenge can already be perceived in the country of origin and in the first generation. Outside of, and largely in between, the relationships of control and challenge are some relationships that are experienced as specifically Sicilian, namely, the relationship between the father and the eldest son and between the mother and the eldest son. A separate relationship also exists between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law that is also primarily concerned with the position of the eldest son.

Among the relationships of symmetrical, mutual control, which are all experienced as very positively by those involved, are, in the nuclear family, the relationships between husband and wife in the home and those between sisters and between brothers and, outside the nuclear family, the relationships within the extended family and those between friends as members of a specific male or female friendship group. Asymmetrical, controlling relationships are those between husband and wife outside the home, mother and daughter, father and daughter, and brothers (especially the eldest) and sisters. The relationship between the mother and the eldest son, which is felt as an eminently privileged relationship by both the mother and the son, is particular — but generally Mediterranean — and atypical as it involves neither elements of control

nor elements of challenge. In the social realm, patronage and its socially negative variant, the mafia, has a typically controlling structure, while religion also represents a strongly controlling authority in the sphere of ideology.

Partially still controlling but also with elements of challenge — thus between the two important dynamics — are the relationships between father and adolescent son, especially the eldest, and between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law for a time after the marriage. Normally, however, these relationships are transitory in their specificity.

Alongside the many control elements built into the culture, there are a few very striking components of challenge and being challenged, the latter being perhaps more important than the former. When this challenge involves the domestic space and purity, one speaks of honor and it is a concern primarily for the man. But the woman also has her responsibilities in this area for preserving and protecting and also active ones for the development of small-scale strategies in the female neighborhood for the increase of this honor (which, of course, is obtained at the cost of the honor of the other women of the neighborhood). Such competitiveness within the female neighborhood is mitigated to a great extent, however, by the basic control that the women exercise over each other. The village square undoubtedly offers more space for social competition, but then between the men: between the groups of *amici* and with respect to the *paisani*. The focus then shifts from honor to respect, to socio-economic prestige. This happens on the male *chiazza*, where social competition against an egalitarian background receives its clearest expression, possibly extended to the rivalry between a few dominating *patruni* and their various clients.

Actually, it is to this end that the little boy, already as a *picciriddu* or a beginning *picciuteddu* is socialized in the *vicinatu* from the beginning when the women repeatedly embarrass him by teasing him about the size of his penis[1], a theme that recurs later among the young men on the *chiazza* in constant jokes among each other.

Very often, the literature stresses the elements of control within Sicilian culture, particularly because in Sicily itself the competitiveness and the challenging — with the opportunities for creativity that may be considered inherent in them — do not receive the necessary chances for dynamic cultural expression because of the overarching patronage structure. Nevertheless, it is precisely the important dynamic of experiencing oneself socio-competitively as being challenged that, to the

degree that it is oriented to social extradomestic life, can become a motor for real cultural change among immigrants, particularly in the second generation and beyond. This occurs when the control components recede into the background, because autochthon social values prevail over the allochthon family values, or disappear altogether with the collapse of patronage as an implicit institution.

When Don Fabrizio in *Il Gattopardo,* this masterpiece of Sicilian sensibility, points out to Aimone Chevalley di Monterzuolo that the Sicilian will always prefer "sleep" and that "they will always hate those who want to wake them out of that sleep"[2], he adds that he would not deny "that some Sicilians, once removed far from their island, could succeed in breaking this spell, but then you have to take them away when they are very young, by the age of twenty it is already too late."[3] In his monologue to the delegate from the Italian central government who has come to Sicily to obtain Don Fabrizio's collaboration, he expresses the dynamic that we have discussed in the second part of our study in terms of the factors affecting first- and second-generation Sicilian immigrants. This dynamic is implicitly present already in the Sicilian culture itself, but it is there suppressed for a complex of historical and cultural reasons, of which political patronage and the mafia are the most important.

We now turn to how the internal socio-competitive dynamic of the Sicilian culture, via a number of cultural articulations, leads to real cultural change in the immigrant situation in view of the problem of integration, which is actually the greatest concern of the dominant, autochthon culture.

2. From Challenge to Change and Integration, Viewed from the Inside

What does integration mean in an immigrant host country like Belgium when more is understood by the term than a simple analysis of coherent normative concepts? What does integration mean when one tries to follow the route of the evolving reality together with the subjects involved — though on a certain level of abstraction — a route like the one that developed from Sicily to Belgium and that runs a number of generations deep? How do Sicilians, integrating per generation and over the generations, live their lives based on a culture of origin in an alien, Belgian society? And how does the West European social structure

function "integratingly" toward them? How do control and challenge find there expression in this process? And, consequently, can major thrusts be discerned that would permit us to draw some general conclusions about immigration in Belgium and the rest of Northwest Europe?

Initially, the Sicilian immigrants, as guest workers, with the stress in Sicily and especially in Belgium being placed on the "workers", were pushed out of Sicily or drawn to Belgium for purely economic reasons, at least on the macro-level. After a while, the initial economic emigration set more complex mechanisms in motion than the purely economical, and these mechanisms continue to function even when the economic stimuli have ceased, especially in Sicily.

The evaluation of the dynamic in Sicily must be made with the necessary attention to nuances and causal complexity. This is of particular importance in the discussion of "the project" with which the first-generation emigrants left their country and settled in the host country or with which they contemplate "returning". The "project" of the home country or the host country being situated on the macro-economic level — importation of foreign currency vs. the filling up of gaps in the autochthon labor market — does not require "the projects" of the individuals also to be economic. The two levels need not mix.

Generally speaking, in an emigration such as that from Sicily to Belgium, the first to depart had limited, short-term economic plans in order to return as soon as possible (but that is not to say that they actually did this), while the later emigrants left increasingly for much more complex socio-cultural considerations. This distinction will be significant in the integration problem that develops later.

The logic on the supra-individual level of economic push and pull factors is one thing. The conscious or less conscious stimuli for departure for an individual or family is another. And there is a third point: the conception of emigration of those who stayed behind in the village. This concept is not insignificant, and it is a factor in the alienation or rapprochement that develops between the emigrants and Sicily or Belgium, and thus also in the integration. It must be immediately added that other elements are also important in the development of feelings and attitudes toward Sicily.

When a Sicilian emigrates to Belgium, he in fact envisions an increase of his respect *(rispettu)* in the Sicilian village, and this is independent of the broad policy expectations of the authorities in Sicily and in Belgium.

When the first years entail too severe a crisis for the traditional family values, he can opt for a transformation of his initial material project into a spiritual project by joining a religious minority group, such as the Jehovah's Witnesses, but this is done only by a small, although symptomatic, minority. He then becomes a member of a chosen people (the challenge) and reinforces his real global control over both domestic and extra-domestic life. However, it is primarily the current, more representative, and diversified praxis that we concentrate on. We consider how the dynamic of challenge is oriented to the "significant other" groups of people per generation and per socio-cultural context. In each case, this leads to a new articulation in cultural change and, at the same time, to a new step in the integration process.

We note in passing that we do not take into account some of the complications of the process, such as the movement from "guest worker" immigration (a typically Western European concept) to politically desirable or undesirable family immigration, and even sometimes to de facto quasi-network immigration. Nor do we go into the impact of Belgian and EEC policies, which obviously affect the immigration process. However, we proceed from the original cultural code and the subsequent intentions and achievements in the life of a Sicilian immigrant family.

Whether it is from a concern for respect *(rispettu)* in the narrowly economic or in the broader social sense, the Sicilian immigrant continues to live mentally in Sicily at least for the first ten years or so. This follows the cultural logic of his project as subject as well as from the socio-cultural code of Sicily, as presented above. Virtually no Sicilian emigrant leaves his country with the intention of becoming fully integrated in Belgium. The initial orientation is much more nuanced, but this is not to say that one immigrates with the intention of not integrating.

The Sicilian immigrant, who is generally joined in a short time by his family, soon finds himself in a paradoxical situation. Integrated better in the host country because of his job and the social contacts it gives him, the man tends generally to be more interested than the less integrated woman in an expression of his success by means of the purchase of a house in the region of origin and often in plans to return. The woman seems to be less interested in the opinion of the villagers in Sicily and more in a definitive settlement in Belgium. For the man, what is involved is the place of his respect (*rispettu* as challenge) and his relationship with the men of his former *paisi*. With the woman, what is

involved is the place of the domestic space in her life. We note that this can often be different for Moroccan and Turkish immigrants because those members of the extended family left behind can lead to a much closer bond with the place of origin. In Sicily there does not exist — or no longer exists — an extended family in the technical sense of the word.

This typical tension in the first generation is the foundation for the culturally ambivalent message that the parents communicate to their children.

This picture is expressed the most clearly among those Sicilian immigrants who moved purely for economic reasons. For the others, it must be qualified.

We do not want to give the impression that integration in the first generation may only be understood on the basis of the socio-cultural code of the immigrants and of the region of origin. While we would strongly argue that the integration problem must also be approached more on the basis of this internal dynamic than is usually the case, obviously we cannot ignore the involvement of at least two cultures in the integration process.

What is here involved are not merely two homogeneous cultural systems encountering each other "as cultures", but primarily individuals and groups that, each in their turn at a specific place within the social hierarchy, are bearers of major fragments of their cultures. Relative to this encounter between persons or groups, the so-called encounter between homogeneous cultural systems is, in itself, a far-reaching abstraction. Moreover, subjects, the bearers of major cultural fragments, are not on equal footing in a multicultural society as regards residential areas, education, and the labor market. Nor, for that matter, are the autochthons, but the disproportions among the immigrants are far more pronounced.

In the first generation, it is difficult for a successful "integration" of Sicilian immigrants in Belgium and the rest of Northwest Europe to mean anything other than the achievement of mutual understanding and acceptance between the autochthons and the immigrants on the level of the extra-familial culture but with the maintenance of the quality and the social prestige of the autochthon institutions with which the immigrants are involved. One may speak of a "failure to integrate" when the Belgians and the immigrants do not converge at any important point at all. There is a "pseudo-integration", i.e., an integration into a socially marginal autochthon reality when the contiguity of Belgians and im-

migrants occurs along with or after a loss of social prestige and quality of the autochthon institutions at the local level.

What is the trend, then, of true integration for the first-generation Sicilian immigrants in Belgium? In terms of time, there is almost always a moment when the immigration brings the subjects to cultural passivity. This is why the impact of reception models and of their socio-moral tone may not be underestimated. They set the immigrant on his course after the experience of uprooting, which often can last up to two or three years. The immigrant must adapt himself to the climate, the diet, the rythm of working and the city, the absence of his or her former social network, and so on. Thus, for the first generation, one may speak of a temporary destructuration during which the original motivation for emigration can alter.

After the initial years, the current socio-cultural praxis of the Sicilian immigrants develops rather quickly. It is a history that constantly witnesses to a very diversified dynamic, that must be interpreted on the basis of the socio-cultural code from Sicily as well as from the residential-reception models in Belgium.

Specific movements are possible between the various forms of attachment to the culture of origin and between the forms of active effort to become more adequately oriented to the host country. These movements result from the place of the person in the history of the migration, the motivation for emigration and its subsequent alterations if any, the interpretation of social promotion and challenge (home-country or host-country oriented), the confrontation that arises between the "masculine" and "feminine" standpoints (social prestige in the home village versus real domestic space), the pressures from the second generation, and the attractiveness or lack thereof of the autochthon offering. Also situated is the problem of discrimination and of structural retardation, which is manifested perhaps the clearest in the cycle of residential area — education — labor market — residential area.

It is important to note that the first-generation immigrants often see the most realistic possibility of breaking through this discriminatory cycle to be the moving to a "better district", to the "second-integration zone". This is simultaneously a movement with which one escapes from the social control of the quasi-ghetto or the twilight zone.

Nevertheless, we want to guard against presenting a second-integration zone as the final objective of successful integration, although moving to a second-integration zone enables the immigrant to avoid a

great number of problems: quasi-ghetto conditions with deplorable educational opportunities for the children, bad relationships between the frustrated, immobile, elderly autochthon population and younger immigrants, and a wide range of prejudices.

In a second-integration zone, the immigrant effaces his own ethnic characteristics as much as possible and tries to make his own the exterior autochthon characteristics to a certain degree. But this cultural change need not *per se* have any effect on the internal domestic space, to which the particular immigrant culture is then reduced and where the values of the home country are often even intensified. This increasing importance of the domestic space reinforces the matrifocal orientation and the distance taken from Sicily, certainly if the wife also contributes to the family income.

The profile of the second generation matches that of the second-integration zone at several important points, but with this difference: in the second generation there is an increase in the competition with the autochthon peer group, a new challenge, while the first-generation in such a second-integration zone is more concerned with "self-effacement and disappearing".

The second-generation Sicilian immigrants are socialized by means of the elasticity of, and hesitations between, the two cultures, which are typical for the first generation, and from there they must build their cultural identity. By "cultural identity" is understood a more or less stable core of relationships and symbols with respect to which a person situates himself. A specific succession at a young age of cultural changes and contacts within the family-school-street triangle that is articulated in function of age and sex leads to fragmenting creativity in the young adult. During adolescence in particular, the youth have to wrestle with a very vital problem: will they, can they be accepted by the host-country society? What is involved is a cultural questioning that inserts itself into the normal adolescent crisis and often aggravates it.

For the second generation, the public forum, the *chiazza,* is transferred from Sicily to Belgium. Since, for them, the traditional — here the domestic — values are of little use and even counter-productive in the competition with the autochthon "peer group", i.e., the new public forum, they are made exteriorly invisible and even ignored, particularly in contacts with the autochthons. Nevertheless, these domestic values, associated with the culture of origin as it is transmitted fragmentarily by the parents, remain vital only in the domestic space. During the years of

adolescence, the "making invisible" of the culture of origin is promoted positively for the boys to the extent that they organize themselves in clubs by the participation in a youth culture, whereby recourse is had as much a possible to small, homogeneous, multi-ethnic groups of autochthons as well as other-ethnic peers (e.g., in music and sport groups). When this group-forming, multi-ethnic mechanism is not operative, namely in more isolated activities such as going dancing or to the movies, the contacts are strongly mono-ethnic, and the individual falls back on his ethnic socio-cultural circles. For girls, it is different from the outset, since the family tries to reconvert her to traditional values.[4] However that may be, both for boys and girls, there is almost always a subjective "re-migration" later on. Objectively, it is rarely possible, because of their cultural alienation from, and their actual ignorance of, Sicily.

Where there is an adequate, not arbitrary policy of distribution, i.e., not oriented to ghetto formation, deconcentration on the first-generation level can be an appropriate and realistic means of coping with this tendency in the first generation, particularly in the larger cities. And an adequate educational policy is the proper way to promote the meaningful integration of the second-generation children. An integration policy worthy of its name would thus take seriously the place education occupies in the family-school-street triangle. A closer harmonization in early childhood of the school, representing the autochthon values, and the family, representing the allochthon values — as does indeed occur in the various programs of bicultural and intercultural education in their own groups in Western Europe — is here to be recommended.

In fact, the second-generation immigrant knows the culture of origin only as a diminished fragment, apart from the broader culture in which this fragment, being domestic, had its place. But there is more. As A.L. Epstein has observed, the identification of the second with the first generation is generally weak for oedipal and other reasons, and this weakens the links to the ethnic group for the second generation. A step towards increasing integration? Epstein qualifies it, by pointing out that an ethnic revival emerges particularly with the third generation, and we might say beginning that generation although we would place less emphasis than Epstein does on affective and identifying connection between the grandchild and its grandparents.[5] The soil for an ethnic revival is found in a continuity on the level of the "intimate culture" combined with the erosion of the "public culture".[6] Erosion and continuity lead

together to ethnicity as a form of creative ethnic self-stereotyping. What is interesting here is Epstein's insistence on the emotional component in ethnicity, whereas the classic literature on ethnicity persistently, and not incorrectly, is concerned with "ethnic groups as interest groups".

In any event, in Belgium the second generation emerges as an intermediary generation within a broader, articulating, diachronous process that develops from the first generation (with the stress on its connection with the objective, traditional culture) to the third generation (with the stress on the erosion of the objective culture and the initiation of creative ethnic self-stereotyping). The second generation, which is at this time the largest in number in Belgium as in many places in Europe — even though a third generation is rising — is an intermediary generation, not because of its static position between two worlds but because it introduces a dynamic transition to a more creative, ethnically determined association with the culture of the host country. This can also give rise to several more questions and considerations on the profile a growing Western European identity will assume in the future.

Ethnicity is an important concept for an understanding of the integration problem, and it is perhaps the concept that runs most counter to a naive objectivistic approach to integration.[7]

Moreover, ethnicity is not the only "original" expression of socio-cultural change in immigration. Like ethnic self-stereotyping after a few generations — and in Belgium perhaps even earlier because of the thoroughgoing ethnicization of the internal relationships between the autochthons themselves, the Dutch-speaking Flemish and the French-speaking Walloons — being like a religious minority group on the fringe of society in the initial years of the immigration is undoubtedly for many a way of transcending the objectivistic integration schema. We have noted the example of the Jehovah's Witnesses among the Sicilian immigrants in Belgium. The study of religion and of religious minority groups in the immigration is worthy of more attention than it is usually given.

The immigration processes are not linear processes of cause and effect, at least when they are considered socio-culturally. Nor are they arbitrary. A dynamic culture affects people, and dynamic people affect the culture. Differences appear in each generation. But in Belgium we have a situation in which the third-generation children are integrally socialized in the language of the host country. So will they not be encultured integrally in the host country, particularly when, as is now

the case in Belgium, their belonging is ratified by citizenship?

At first sight, however, there are two problem areas in which Belgium will have to find solutions. First, social stratification on the basis of physical characteristics such as skin color and recognizable origin will have to be avoided; second, the generations that follow upon the second will have to be prevented from experiencing themselves inferior as regards their own cultural tradition or from experiencing themselves as being totally cut off from their history. Here, too, at least within the Sicilian-Mediterranean reality, a determining factor is the internal dynamic of the challenge that is oriented to social values once that it is liberated from the crippling social control. The economic as well as the social and the cultural can be at the basis of an emotionally revendicative ethnic profiling. The example of GRIT cited above contains all the components needed for this.

Although the warning of Orlando Patterson against "ethnic chauvinism", whatever form this may take throughout the world, is not totally without grounds, we cannot concur with the unqualified condemnation he seems to pronounce over all, even mild, "cultural pluralism".[8] The thrust for, and desirability of, a "universal culture" need in no way imply that groups of people must cut off their attachment to less rational forms of collective group awareness or their attachment to the roots of their own group past. Non-fanatic political unification and moderate cultural pluralism do not exclude each other.[9]

The fact that the same search is occurring in several highly industrialized modern states, both among the Sicilian and other immigrants in Belgium, which was never confronted with a Black Power movement, and among Italian-Americans in the U.S.A., which has had no experience with the Belgian Flemish-Walloon type of problem, as well as among the French speaking and English speaking in Canada would seem to indicate that socio-cultural mechanisms are at work that are not dependent on conscious moral choices of individuals. There are socio-cultural processes that apparently belong to the modern intercultural setting if the necessary socio-economic and political conditions are present. And as far as these conditions are concerned, Belgium — and every other Western European country — the U.S.A., and Canada are very similar. We would do well to learn from each other.

Notes

Introduction

1. C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays,* London, p. 15.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 5: "The concept of culture I espouse ... is essentially a semiotic one."
4. M. Sahlins, *Culture and Practical Reason,* Chicago, London, p. 47.
5. C. Geertz, op.cit., p. 17.
6. J. Fabian, "Popular Culture in Africa: Findings and Conjectures", *Africa,* 48 (4), 1978, p. 328.

Chapter 1

1. Formez, *Ricerca sull'emigrazione meridionale nelle zone di esodo,* Rome, 1977, p. 50.
2. Ibid., p. 48.
3. In popular speech, the name of the quarter is readily replaced by the name of the most important neighborhood in the quarter. Thus, one speaks more readily of the Puzziddu quarter (*puzziddu* = "well") than of the Santa Venera quarter. Puzziddu, however, does not refer to all of Santa Venera, but rather that part of the quarter that lies between the Via Re d'Italia, Via Nino Bixio, Via Redentore, and Via Vespri Siciliani, which is *de facto* the neighborhood in which older women circulate very easily.

   According to the same principle, one also speaks more often of the *Badia* and the *quarteri degli Angeli,* which are the important neighborhoods of one larger quarter, than of the *quarteri San Francesco.* Only the *Badia* is still explicitly felt to be a true neighborhood and not a quarter, but in popular parlance the more global quarter is indicated by *Angeli,* which is of considerable importance in the life of Caltanissetta because it contains the cemetery, an often visited place in a Sicilian *paisi,* particularly by the women.

Chapter 2

1. The Bellavia children who emigrated to Belgium are discussed in the case study of Chapter 6, below.

Chapter 3

1. A. Blok, "Rams and Billy-Goats: A Key to the Mediterranean Code of Honour", *Man* (N.S.), 1981, 3, p. 435.
2. G. Tomasi di Lampedusa, *Il Gattopardo*, Milan, [21]1974.
3. C. Cronin, "Illusion and Reality in Sicily", in A. Schlegel (ed.), *Sexual Stratification: A Cross-Cultural View*, New York, 1977, pp. 74-75.
4. C. Joris, doctoral research for thesis at the Center for Social and Cultural Anthropology, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Leuven, Belgium (in preparation).
5. Cf. C. Cronin, *The Sting of Change: Sicilians in Sicily and Australia*. Chicago and London, 1970, pp. 118-119: "The Sicilian nuclear family, composed of mother, father, and unmarried children, is the center and the core of the social organization. Each individual's loyalty, devotion, labors, money, and sacrifices are freely and willingly given to further the interests of the family. The individual in return derives his status, prestige, and position in the community from his status, prestige, and position in the family." See also J. Boissevain, "Patronage in Sicily", *Man*, 1966, 1, p. 19: "The central institution of Sicilian society is the nuclear family. The rights and obligations which derive from membership in it provide the individual with his basic moral code. Moreover, a man's social status as a person with honour, an *omu* or *cristianu*, is closely linked to his ability to maintain or improve the economic position of his family and to safeguard the purity of its women, in whom is enshrined the family's collective honour. A person's responsibility for his family is thus the value on which his life is centred. Other values and organisational principles are of secondary importance."
6. L.W. Moss and W.H. Thomson, "The South Italian Family: Literature and Observation", *Human Organization*, 1959, 18, pp. 35-41.
7. C. Cronin, "Illusion and Reality in Sicily", p. 73.
8. Ibid., p. 88.
9. Ibid., p. 79.
10. M. Giovannini, "Woman: A Dominant Symbol within the Cultural System of a Sicilian Town", *Man* (N.S.), 1981, 3, p. 409.
11. Ibid., p. 410.
12. V. Turner, *The Forest of Symbols*, Ithaca, 1967; *Forms of Symbolic Action*, Seattle, 1969.
13. M. Giovannini, op.cit., p. 412.
14. C. Cronin, *The Sting of Change*, p. 119.
15. J. Davis, "Honour and Politics in Pisticci", *Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1969, p. 74.
16. In Riesi, *nchiuintina*, the practice of a young man locking himself in with a girl in her house alone, is still remembered, although it is no longer done.
17. About *lu visitu*, see Section 9, below: "Religion and Death".
18. J. Boissevain, "Patronage in Sicily", *Man*, 1966, 1, pp. 20-21.
19. J. and P. Schneider, *Culture and Political Economy in Western Sicily*, New York, 1976, p. 102.

20. C. Cronin, "Illusion and Reality in Sicily", p. 88.
21. The old mafia symbolism where a new member is admitted into the *cosca* (the cell) by a ritual in which the hand of the new member is cut and his blood mixed with blood from a cut in the hand of an old member can be understood in this light. The voluntary relationship is replaced by a blood relationship and, from then on, the *doviri* proper to the family relationship apply.
22. J. and P. Schneider, op.cit., p. 83.
23. J. Boissevain, "Patronage in Sicily", p. 18.
24. G. Tomasi di Lampedusa, *Il Gattopardo*, p. 21.
25. A. Blok, *The Mafia of a Sicilian Village 1890-1960*. New York, 1975, p. 8.
26. Ibid., p. 8.
27. Ibid., p. 92.
28. On the "old mafia", see, among others, A. Blok, op.cit.; H. Hess, *Mafia. Zentrale Herrschaft und lokale Gegenmacht*, Tübingen, 1970; N. Lewis, *The Honoured Society: Mafia Conspiracy Observed*, London, 1963; J. and P. Schneider, op.cit., pp. 173-201; L. Sciascia, *A ciascuno il suo*, Turin, 1966; L. Sciascia, *Il giorno della civetta*, Turin, 1961; and the writings of D. Dolci. For the more recent developments in the "new mafia", see the publications of M. Pantaleone, and the Acts of the *Maxiprocesso* of Palermo.
29. In the article on "Omertà" in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. X, New York, 1933, p. 36, G. Mosca defined *omertà* as "the attitude which assumes that recourse to legal authority in cases of persecution by private enemies is a symptom of weakness, almost of cowardice. It is an exaggeration of the sentiment, more or less common in Latin countries, that appeal to law against offenses involving personal insult, for instance adultery, is unmanly and that the duel is the proper means of recovering lost honor." *Omertà* is also involved in Sicily as regards the actions of the mafia, and means that one does not speak to third parties, and certainly not to the law enforcement officials, about what one might know or have seen.
30. On magic and bewitchment in Southern Italy, see, for example, E. de Martino, *Sud e Magia*, Milan, ^{8}1978, and M. Risso and W. Böker, *Verhexungswahn. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis von Wahnerkrankungen süditalienischer Arbeiter in der Schweiz*. Basel, New, York, 1964.
31. E. Roosens, *De Yaka van Kwaango. Socio-culturele verandering in Midden-Afrika*, Antwerp and Utrecht, 1971, pp. 59-60; K.E. Rosengren, "Malinowski's Magic: The Riddle of the Empty Cell", *Current Anthropology*, 17, 1976, no. 4, pp. 667-685.
32. M. Giovannini, op.cit., p. 416.
33. The striking rarity of marriages in the month of May is probably due in part to an old Roman tradition (Ovid, *Fastes* 5, v. 490: *Mense malas Mais nubere volgus ait)*, whereby offerings to the dead were made in May. This was reinforced by the Christian tradition of May being the month of the Virgin.

    The place of the month of May is again underlined when one takes the averages of the months over the subsequent eight years. From 1 September 1975 to 30 August 1983, the monthly averages for the Church of Santa Croce

are as follows: January, 0.8; February, 0.8; March, 0.8; April, 2.7; May, 0.2; June, 1.6; July, 6.8; August, 1.6; September, 3.3; October, 1.6; November, 0.8; December, 2.2. In passing, we note the declining number of marriages in this church over the years, which reflects a relative ageing of the Puzziddu Quarter as well as a depopulation, not because of emigration but because of moves to the new part of the city. From 1 September 1965 to 30 August 1973, there were an average of 34.8 marriages per year. From 1 September 1975 to 30 August 1983, there were 24 per year. There was a sharp decline between 1 September 1983 to 30 August 1986 to 15 marriages per year.

Chapter 4

1. C. Joris, "Uitdaging als Opvoeding", *Cultuur en Migratie*, Brussels, 1984, 1, pp. 9-41.
2. Among Sicilian men, there is often the conviction that the *minchia* is too long south of Sicily in North Africa, while it is too short north of the Alps. They, themselves, are in the middle with the ideal size. Every group seems to have its own criteria for situating itself "in the middle", as the ideal mean between the extremes.
3. L. Ferrant and J. Leman, "Dottò, mi fa mali lu stomacu: een subject-georiënteerde antropologische benadering van maagklachten bij Siciliaanse patiënten in een Brusselse huisartspraktijk", *Antropologische Verkenningen*, 1983, 3, pp. 189-204.
   J. Leman and A. Gailly, "Epigastric complaints among Sicilian and Turkish patients in Belgium: a structural analysis towards an across-cultural therapy", *Antropologia Medica*, Trieste, (in press).
4. J. Leman, "Children's Emotional Values as a Reflector of Cultural and Social Processes: Sicilian Immigrant Children in a Belgian Situation", *Risorgimento*, Brussels, (in press).
5. See G. De Vos, *Socialization for Achievement*, Berkeley, 1973, and particularly, the tables of pp. 20-21. See also G. De Vos, E. Hunn and J. Schreiber, *Manual for Scoring Vectoral Concerns on the Thematic Apperception Test*, mimeograph, undated, and G. De Vos, *Provisional Code Book*, mimeograph, undated.
6. R.M. Bell, *Fate and Honor, Family and Village: Demographic and Cultural Change in Rural Italy since 1800*. Chicago and London, 1979, p. 3.
7. M. Natale a.o. (ed.), "La presenza straniera in Italia: nuovi contibuti conoscitivi", *Studi Emigrazione*, Rome, 1986, 82-83, p. 161-493.

Chapter 5

1. C. Braeckman, *Les étrangers en Belgique*. Brussels, 1973, p. 132.
2. A. Martens, *Les immigrés. Flux et reflux d'une main-d'œuvre d'appoint*. Leuven, 1976, p. 62.

3. G. Sartori, *L'emigrazione italiana in Belgio. Studio storico e sociologico.* Rome, 1962, p. 57.
4. J. Nash, *We Eat the Mines and the Mines Eat Us.* New York, 1979, p. 87.
5. Ibid., p. 87.
6. Ibid., p. 88.
7. Ibid.
8. L. Wirth, *The Ghetto.* Chicago, ^{12}1975, p. 6; see also p. 283.
9. Ibid., p. 200.
10. Ibid., p. 8.
11. Ibid., p. 201.
12. Ibid., p. 226.
13. J. Rex, *Race, Colonialism and the City.* London, 1973, p. 11. For twilight zones, see pp. 7 ff. and particularly pp. 111-121, where Rex applies this concept to the areas that Burgess calls "zones of transition".

Chapter 6

Chapter 7

1. J. Rex, op.cit., p. 111, has correctly noted that "the immigrant identifies, and is identified, much less with the place in which he works than with the place where he lives."

Chapter 8

1. A. Schrader, B.W. Nikles, and H.M. Griese, *Die Zweite Generation. Sozialisation und Akkulturation ausländischer Kinder in der Bundesrepublik.* Kronberg, 1977; A. Akpinar, A. Lopez-Blasco, and J. Vink, *Pädagogische Arbeit mit ausländischen Kindern und Jugendlichen. Bestandsaufnahme und Praxishilfen.* Munich, ^{2}1979; P.A. Albrecht and C. Pfeiffer, *Die Kriminalisierung junger Ausländer. Befunde und Reaktionen sozialer Kontrollinstanzen.* Munich, 1979.
2. P. Faina, "Identità della seconda generazione degli emigrati e problemi di integrazione", *Studi Emigrazione,* Rome, 1980, 57, p. 24.
3. A. Oliverio Ferraris, *Les dessins d'enfants et leur signification,* Verviers, 1977, p. 14 (translated from the Italian).
4. F. Medioli Cavara, "Espressioni proiettive dell'ambiente sociale ed economico nel test della famiglia", *Rivista di Psicologia Sociale e del Lavoro,* Jan.-Mar. 1970, pp. 23-52.
5. P. Faina, op.cit., p. 41 (translated from the Italian).
6. N. Glazer and D.P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot.* Cambridge, ^{2}1970, p. 188. See also W. Whyte, *Street Corner Society,* Chicago, 1943.
7. G. Rioux, in his doctoral thesis, demonstrated that the combination of the age categories of 9 and 10 years old and 11 and 12 years old into one group

does not pose unsurmountable problems for what we have in mind. See G. Rioux, *Dessin et structure mentale. Contribution à l'étude psycho-sociale des milieux nord-africains*, Alger, 1951, vol. 1, chap. 6.

8. D. Widlöcher, *Het interpreteren van kindertekeningen*, Tournai, 1968, p. 62.
9. Ibid., p. 126.
10. W. Dennis, *Group Values through Children's Drawings*, New York, 1966, p. 1.
11. For the entire study, see J. Leman, *Van Caltanissetta naar Brussel en Genk*, Leuven, 1982, pp. 572-617.
12. For a more detailed discussion of these drawings and TAT plates, see J. Leman, "Children's Emotional Values as a Reflector of Cultural and Social Processes: Sicilian Immigrant Children in a Belgian Situation", *Risorgimento*, Brussels, (in press).
13. P.A. Albrecht and C. Pfeiffer, op.cit., p. 47.
14. L. Favero and G. Tassello, "La gioventù italo-inglese. Alcuni risultati di una inchiesta", *Studi Emigrazione*, Rome, 1978, 51, p. 315.
15. For a detailed discussion of the second-generation profile, see J. Leman, "La deuxième génération des travailleurs migrants: fragmentés et non destructurés", *Recherches Sociologiques*, 1979, 10/2, p. 247-270; idem, "La socialisation des enfants de seconde génération dans une perspective socio-culturelle et anthropologique globale", in R. Aubert (ed.), *L'immigration italienne en Belgique*, Brussels, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1985, pp. 67-84.

Chapter 9

1. A.L. Epstein, *Ethos and Identity*, London, 1978, p. 148.
2. Ibid., p. 111.
3. Ibid., p. 96.
4. Ibid., p. 101.
5. L.A. Despres (ed.), *Ethnicity and Resource Competition in Plural Societies*. The Hague, 1975, p. 195.
6. J. McKay and F. Lewins, "Ethnicity and the Ethnic Group: A Conceptual Analysis and Reformulation", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1, 4, 1978, p. 419.
7. For more data, see A. Adam, *Casablanca. Essai sur la transformation de la société marocaine au contact de l'Occident. I & II*. Paris, C.N.R.S., Second revised and corrected edition, 1972.
8. J. McKay and F. Lewins, art.cit., p. 418.
9. Ibid., p. 417.
10. G. De Vos and A. Romanucci-Ross (eds), *Ethnic Identity. Cultural Continuities and Change*. Berkeley, 1975, p. 3; F. Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social Organization of Culture Difference*. Boston, 1969, p. 14; E. Roosens, *Cultuurverschillen en etnische identiteit*, Brussels, p. 14.
11. G. De Vos and A. Romanucci-Ross, op.cit., p. 5.
12. A.L. Epstein, op.cit., p. 148.

13. Ibid., p. xiv.
14. G. De Vos and A. Romanucci-Ross, op.cit., p. 19.
15. Ibid., p. 17.
16. D. Bell, "Ethnicity and Social Change", in N. Glazer and D. Moynihan (eds.), *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*. Cambridge, 1975, p. 169.
17. F. Barth, op.cit., p. 24.
18. D. Bell, op.cit., p. 167.
19. A. Cohen (ed.), *Urban Ethnicity*. London, 1974, p. xiii.
20. N. Glazer and D. Moynihan, "Introduction", in N. Glazer and D. Moynihan (eds.), *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*. Cambridge, 1975, p. 7.
21. Scuola di Barbiana, *Lettera a una professoressa*. Florence, 1967.
22. See Chapter 5, above.

Chapter 10

1. G. De Vos and A. Romanucci-Ross, op.cit., pp. 8-9.
2. For an extensive study on the Jehovah's Witnesses in general, see J.A. Beckford, *The Trumpet of Prophecy*. Oxford, 1975.
3. W.J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals: The Charismatic Movement in the Churches*. Minneanapolis, ^{2}1973, p. 262.
4. For a presentation of the results of this study and for a history of the sect among the immigrants in Belgium, see J. Leman, "Jehovah's Witnesses and Immigration in Continental Western Europe", *Social Compass*, XXVI, 1979/1, pp. 41-72.
5. For a presentation of the TFI test, see D. Levinson and P. Huffman, "Traditional Family Ideology and Its Relation to Personality", *Journal of Personality*, 1955, 23, pp. 251-273.
6. See, for example, E.T. Clark, *The Small Sects in America*. Revised and enlarged edition, New York, 1949, p. 220.
7. See, for example, J.L. Gillin, "Contribution to the Sociology of Sects", *American Journal of Sociology*, 1910, pp. 236-252.
8. See, for example, C.Y. Glock, "Origine et évolution des groupes religieux", *Archives de Sociologie des Religions*, 16, 1963, p. 30.
9. See Chapter 4, above.
10. G. De Vos and A. Romanucci-Ross, op.cit., p. 17.

Chapter 11

1. C. Joris, "Uitdaging als opvoeding", *Cultuur en Migratie*, Brussels, 1984/1, pp. 22 and 25.
2. G. Tomasi di Lampedusa, *Il Gattopardo*, p. 121.
3. Ibid., p. 123.
4. L. Marchi, "Voor een integrerende samenlevingsopbouw met Mediterrane (overwegend Marokkaanse en Turkse) migrantenvrouwen", *Cultuur en Migratie*, Brussels, 1984/1, pp. 42-66.

5. A.L. Epstein, op.cit., p. 148.
6. Ibid., p. 96.
7. In such an objectivistic approach to integration, the alien culture virtually disappears "objectively" in the autochthon culture after an intermediary stage of a mixed culture given sufficient time.
8. O. Patterson, *Ethnic Chauvinism: The Reactionary Impulse*, New York, 1977. For another approach to cultural pluralism in the U.S.A., see J.E. Farley, *Majority-Minority Relations*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1982.
9. J. Leman, "Naar een nieuw gezicht voor West-Europa?", *Sociologisch Jaarboek*. 1987 (in press).

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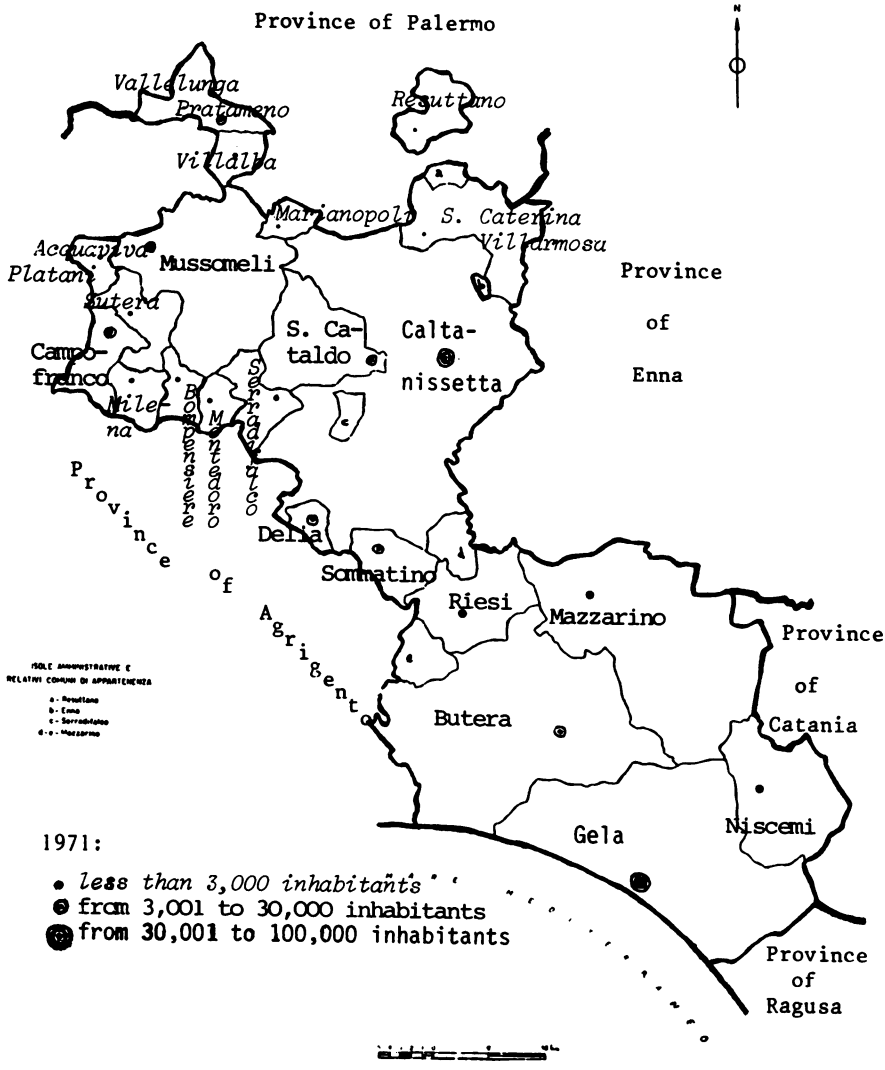
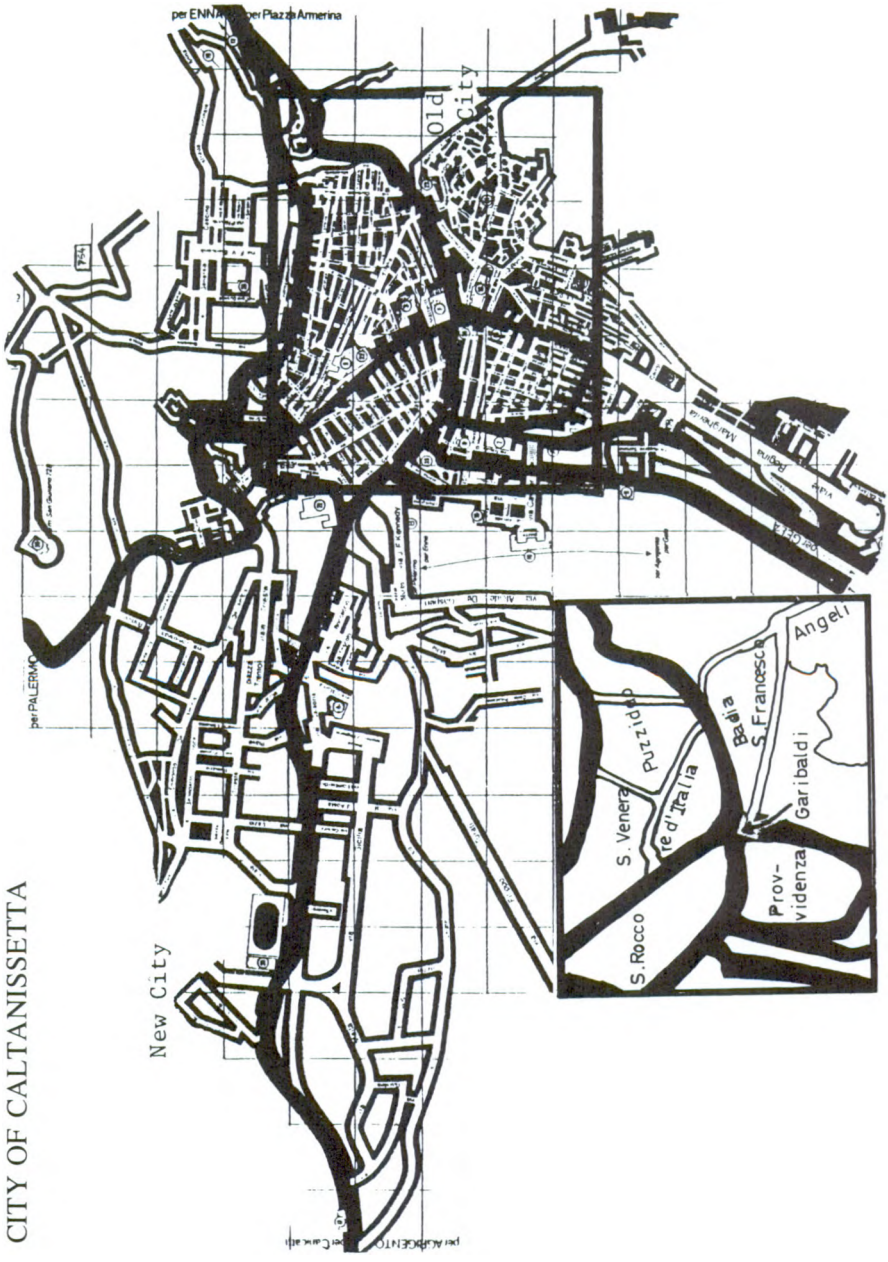
Glossary

Amicizia: Friendship, the positive, non-family bonded relationships.
La campagna: The rural areas between villages, now uninhabited.
La casa: The home.
La chiazza: The central square of a *paisi* or of an older part of a city.
La famigghia allargata: The extended family, but not in the technical and formal meaning that presumes a real corporate group. The ties are loose.
La famigghia nucleari: The nuclear family.
Omertà: According to one interpretation, the attitude of an *omu,* a man following the code of honor. He will not tell the authorities about the things he has seen, so when he is offended, he avenges the wrong done to him by his own personal action or with the help of his friends and relations. Another interpretation has it that it is a distortion of *umiltà* or humility. Humility requires that one minds one's own business and does not concern oneself with the affairs of others.
Onuri: Honor, the challenge that one issues to or endures passively from others and that is concerned primarily with the domestic space and purity.
Paisi: Village or town, connoting specifically the inhabited portion.
Parenti: Relatives.
Quarteri: District, quarter.
Rispettu: Respect, social prestige, largely economic.
Stima: Moral esteem.
Suttapatri: The eldest son (literally: the under-father).
Vicinatu: A neighborhood; secondarily, a small, relatively stable social group of women of a neighborhood.
Vrigogna: Shame, the pain that is felt upon dishonor and disrespect; positively, the modesty fitting for a woman.

PROVINCE OF CALTANISSETTA



CITY OF CALTANISSETTA



The old city, *città vecchia*, of Caltanissetta.

A typical Sicilian interior in a village of the province of Caltanissetta.

The *chiazza* Garibaldi in the early evening in Riesi.

The *festa* of S. Michele, *santu* of the *paisi* in Caltanissetta.

The *festa* in the *campagna* in honor of S. Francesco, held next to the *cimiteriu* in Sutera.

A *festa* for the birthday of a 5-year-old-boy, an eldest son, in Brussels.

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STUDIA ANTHROPOLOGICA

The first Part of the book, *A Challenging Culture,* presents the socio-cultural code in Sicily as observed in the Province of Caltanissetta. The most important structural and geographical factors that are culturally relevant are discussed. The Sicilian culture emerges gradually as a culture of control and challenge, and it is on the basis of this idea that Part II, *From Challenge to Change,* is developed.

The second Part is based on several years of fieldwork among Sicilians from the Province of Caltanissetta: urban Brussels and semi-rural Genk in the Province of Limburg in Belgium. The various forms of collective praxis are dealt with separately. The author insists that the immigrants move as subjects: they are not passive elements, not just pawns, predestined by their circumstances or by one or another phase of the immigration history. If a moment of radical uprooting and desubjectivization should occur, it is apt to happen in the first years of the immigration. After the culture of origin and the culture of the host country have initially clashed in the individual, the immigrant will gradually create his own small creative space within the larger dynamic of the culture of origin, of the immigration, and of what the host country makes possible.

The leading idea of the study is taken up again at the end of the study: *From Challenging Culture to Cultural Change and Integration.* On the basis of this idea, a contribution is made to the anthropological literature on the Sicilian culture in Sicily, and a new approach is proposed to what is commonly called the integration of immigrants.

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